A HISTORY OF PĀLI LITERATURE

BY

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FOREWORD

There can be no doubt that a new and ample treatment of the Pāli literature is a great scientific want felt by all the scholars who are working in that field. Many problems connected with the subject are still unsolved. Not even the question of the origin and home of what we call Pāli language and of its linguistic character is definitively settled, and the chronological order of a single book is very often uncertain. Professor Winternitz in his great work on Indian literature has described also the Pāli literature in an admirable manner. But the scope of his work did not allow him, of course, to enter into all the details and to discuss the many divergences of opinion. Malalasekera in his recent publication has confined himself to the Pāli books composed in Ceylon. Hence the whole canonical literature was to be left aside. I was very much pleased, therefore, when I heard that Dr. Bimala Churn Law had intended to publish a comprehensive work on Pāli literature. We all know his former publications on Buddhist topics and their intrinsic value, and I repeatedly congratulated him on the happy choice of his themes and on the clever manner in which he had accomplished his task. I was even more pleased when I had the opportunity to peruse a good deal of the manuscript of the present work. It will prove to be extremely useful to all the Pāli scholars by the sober and impartial judgment of the author and by the clear and exhaustive exposition of the various problems. Above all I wish to point at the important discussion of the relative chronology of the canonical texts, which means a considerable progress beyond what Rhys Davids has said on the subject, and at the ample and very clear summaries of the Tipiṭaka books which will be welcome to those who are unable to read them in the original language but wish to become acquainted with their general plan and contents. I frankly say that I found all I could read extremely suggestive and I am convinced that I shall learn much from the book even where my opinion may perhaps differ from that of the author.

16-2-32. WILH. GEIGER.

PREFACE

Scholars interested in Buddhism have no doubt felt a great want of an exhaustive treatment of Pali literature. I have, therefore, attempted for the first time to supply the need of a detailed and systematic history of Pāli literature in two volumes. Drs. M. H. Bode and G. P. Malalasekera have published their respective monographs on the Pāli literature of Burma and of Ceylon. Drs. Geiger and Winternitz have also given us a brief survey of Pāli literature in their respective works, " Pali Literatur und sprache " and " Geschichte der Indischen Literatur die Buddhistische literatur und die Heiligen texte der Jainas (1920) ". But my treatment of the subject is entirely different from those of my predecessors. The first volume deals with the chronology and general history of the Pāli Piṭakas. In the Introduction to this volume I have briefly discussed the origin of Pāli and the importance of the study of Pāli as one of the Indian languages. A systematic and critical treatment of the puzzling problem of the chronology of the Pāli canon follows next, throwing a new light on this intricate and difficult subject. I have tried to discuss at some length the date and composition of each and every book included in the Pāli canon. This volume contains a critical exposition of the Vinaya Piṭaka. An elaborate treatment of the Sutta Piṭaka consisting of the five nikāyas, the Dīgha, Majjhima, Samyutta, Aṅguttara, and Khuddaka has received the attention it deserves. I have also taken care to point out the peculiarities of the style and language in which each suttanta has been written. Under each suttanta and under each nikaya the ancient and modern literature hitherto published has been noticed. In the section on the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, I have noted the significance and importance of the Abhidhamma treatises not without paying attention to the style and language of the Abhidhamma texts. The Pāli counterparts of the Abhidhamma books of the Sarvāstivāda School have been dealt with in the last chapter of the first volume. I have everywhere considered it worth while to mention the available printed editions, manuscripts, and different recensions of each sutta noting the points of textual variations wherever possible. An attempt has been made to collect the parallel passages by way of comparison from other literatures wherever found.

The second volume which treats of post-canonical Pāli literature is devoted to the study of extra canonical works presupposed by the Pāli commentaries, the Pāli chronicles, the Pāli manuals, the Pāli literary pieces, the Pāli grammars, lexicographies, and works on rhetoric. In the concluding chapter

I have tried to give a general survey of the whole book and traced the development of Pāli poetry. I have given two appendices dealing with the Historical and Geographical references in the Pāli Piṭakas and the Pāli tracts in the inscriptions, which, I believe, will be found useful. I have appended an index at the end for the convenience of readers. I have not fourd it necessary to deal with some of the unimportant books about which nothing much can be known, e.g., the Sārasaṁgaha (containing many points concerning Buddhism), the Kāmaṇḍakī (a book on polity), the Akkharasammohacheda (word book), the Sotabbamālinī (containing edifying tales), the Takkabhāsā (a book on logic), Amatākaravaṇṇanā, Sucittālaṅkāra, Laṅkākathā, Muniguṇālaṅkāra, Sārasaṁgaha, Rājādhirājavilāsinī, Dhammasattapakaraṇa, Dabbaguṇa (pharmacology), Sāratthasaṁgaha, Sūlacaraka, Sādhucaritodaya, Kosalabimbavaṇṇanā, Sahassavatthupakaraṇa, Lokappadīpakasāra, etc.

The task which I have performed is, no doubt, beset with difficulties but I shall consider my labour amply rewarded if this treatise is found useful by scholars interested in Buddhist literature, history, and religion.

I am grateful to Mrs. Rhys Davids and Dr. B. M. Barua for their valuable suggestions for the improvement of this work. Dr. W. Geiger has really laid me under a deep debt of gratitude by writing a foreword.

I have to offer my sincere thanks to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., and Mr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, who have evinced a keen interest in the publication of this work.

43, Kailas Bose Street, BIMALA CHURN LAW.

Calcutta, the 22nd May, 1933.

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INTRODUCTION

I. *The Origin and home of Pāli.*—The term Pālibhāsā[1] or Pāli language is a comparatively modern coinage. Whether the credit of this misleading coinage is due to the European Orientalists or to the latter-day Buddhist theras of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, is still a matter of dispute. It is certain, however, that even up to the 6th or 7th century A.D., the term Pāli does not appear to have gained currency as a nomenclature for any kind of language. Even if we look into the Cūḷavaṁsa forming a later supplement to the Mahāvaṁsa we find that the term Pāli is used in it clearly in the sense of original Buddhist texts, the texts of the canon, as distinguished from the commentaries:

'Pālimattaṁ idhānītaṁ, natthi aṭṭhakathā idha'—only the Pāli has been brought over here from Ceylon but not the commentaries. In the commentaries themselves there are several passages in which the term Pāli has been employed precisely in the sense of the original authoritative text of the canon. In the Visuddhimagga, for instance, we have at p. 107 'Idaṁ sabbākārena neva Pāḷiyaṃ, na aṭṭhakathāyaṃ āgatam, kevalaṃ ācariyamatānu-

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[1] 'Pāḷi—Pā rakkhaṇe li; Pāti, rakkhatīti, Pāḷi Pālīti ekacce. Tanti, Buddhavacanaṁ, Panti, Pāli. (Bhagavatā vuccamānassa atthassa vohārassa ca dīpanato saddoyeva Pāḷi nāmāti gaṇṭhipadesu vuttan 'ti Abhidhammaṭṭhakathāya likhitaṃ);

Pāḷi saddo Pāḷidhamme-taḷākapāḷiyaṁpi ca
Dissate pantiyam ceva-iti ñeyyaṁ vijānatā.

Ayaṁ hi Pāḷisaddo, Pāḷiyā atthaṃ upaparikkhanti 'ti ādisu pariyattidhammasaṅkhāte Pāḷidhamme dissati; 'Mahato taḷākassa pāḷī ti ādisu taḷākapāḷiyaṁ Pāḷiyā nisīdiṃsūti ādisu paṭipāṭiyā nisīdiṃsūti attho, imasmiṃ panatthe dhātuyā kiccaṃ natthi, paṭipātiko hi pantivācako Pāḷisaddo; pariyattidhammavācake pāḷisadde, atthaṃ pāti, rakkhatīti pāḷīti ca, antodakaṁ rakkhaṇatthena mahato taḷākassa thirā mahatī pāli viyā ti pālī ti ca, pakaṭṭhānaṃ ukkaṭṭhānaṃ sīlādiatthānaṃ badhanato sabhāvaniruttibhāvato Buddhādīhi bhasitattā ca, pakaṭṭhānaṁ vacanappabandhānaṃ āḷī ti pālīti ca nibbacanāni veditabbāni.' (Abhidhammappadīpikā sūci.)

sārena vuttaṃ, tasmā na sārato paccetabbaṁ,' and also at page 450 of this work we read 'Imāni tāva pāḷiyaṃ: aṭṭhakathāyam pana: aññāni pirūpāni āharitvā'. A similar distinction between the Pāli and the aṭṭhakathā on the one hand and between the aṭṭhakathā and the ācariyamata on the other is brought out by Buddhaghosa also in his Puggala-Paññatti commentary in the use of such expressions as (1) Pālimuttakena pana aṭṭhakathānayena, p. 171; (2) aṭṭhakathāmuttakena pana ācariyanayena, p. 173 [1]. As a matter of fact, the earliest issue of the term Pāli can be traced in the commentaries of Buddhaghosa and not in any earlier Buddhist writings. It is again in the commentaries that the term Pāli came to be regarded as a synonym for Buddhavacana, Tripiṭaka, tanti, and pariyatti. The transition from Pāli the text to Pāli the language came about sooner or later by a natural process. Although the conscious attempt on the part of the commentators was to keep the term Pāli dissociated from its linguistic implication, they felt constrained to commit themselves to such an expression as tantibhāsā in order to distinguish the language of the Pāli or the text of the canon from Sīhalabhāsā or the Sinhalese language. The language of the Pāli itself was characterised by them as Māgadhinirutti or the Māgadhī idiom. In tantibhāsā they attained a coinage approaching Pālibhāsā or Pāli language. And the other term Māgadhī or Māgadhinirutti was held out by them as a word of praise, claiming thereby as they actually did, that the Māgadhī idiom of the Pāli texts was the mūlabhāṣā or the primary speech of all men.[2]

[1] For other references see the P.T.S. Pāli-English Dictionary, *Sub voce Pāli.*

[2] Vinayavinicchaya-ṭīkā: 'Sakalajanasādhāraṇāya mūlabhāsāya' (Quoted in Buddhadatta's Manuals, p. xiv, Kaccāyana's Pāli Grammar, 'Sā Māgadhīmūlabhāṣā narāya ādikappikā'). Visudhimagga, pp. 441-442, Sabhāvaniruttiyā Māgadhikāya sabbasattānaṁ mūlabhāsāya.

If it can thus be established that the use of the term *Pāli* is not earlier than the writings of Buddhaghosa, and further that when it first came into use, it denoted texts of the canon and was kept dissociated from all linguistic implications, one must at once repudiate all modern attempts at the characterisation of the language of the canon by means of the sound similarity of Pāli with Pallī (a village) as idle ingenuity. To contemplate Pāli as the typical Buddhavacana or the text of the canon is chiefly to deal with the set formulations of Buddha's doctrine and discipline, the Buddha's mode of expression or presentation or exposition, apart from the question of language.

The story of *Māgadhinirutti* is a pure invention of the theras of Ceylon, if not exactly that of Buddhaghosa. It is very curious indeed how this myth had originated and gradually gained ground to mislead even the modern scientific investigators. One will look in vain through all the canonical texts and other earlier writings of the Buddhists for any hint to imagine that Māgadhī was the dialect used by the Buddha as a sole medium of expression and that he had used no other dialect as the medium of instruction. It is no doubt claimed in some of the canonical texts that the Buddha was the boasted religious reformer of Magadha, Aṅga-Magadha constituting the Magadhan kingdom under the suzerainty of Bimbisāra. But is it a sufficient reason to maintain that the Māgadhika form of speech was the language of the Buddha and that of the Buddhist canon? We are aware that much has been made of the Vinaya passage enjoining that the bhikkhus should promulgate the teachings of the Buddha through the medium of *sakānirutti* instead of translating them into *chandasa*. The Vinaya passage reads:

"Na bhikkhave Buddhavacanaṃ chandaso āropetabbaṁ. Yo āropeyya, āpatti dukkaṭassa. Anujānāmi bhīkkhave sakāya niruttiyā Buddhavacanaṁ pariyāpunituṃ" (Cullavagga, V. 33. I, p. 139).

Buddhaghosa interprets the term *chandasa* in the sense of the Sanskrit language which served as a diction of the Vedas (Vedaṃ viya sakkatabhāsāya vācanāmaggaṃ) and the other term *sakānirutti* is explained by him as signifying that form of the Māgadhaka dialect which was used by the Buddha himself (ettha sakāniruttināma sammāsaṃbuddhena vuttappakāro Māgadhako vohāro-Samantapāsādikā, Cullavagga commentary, Sinhalese edition, p. 306).

Thus it is clear from Buddhaghosa's comment that he has taken the term *chandasa* indiscriminately as a synonym for the Sanskrit language and the term *sakānirutti* as a synonym for the Māgadhī dialect used as a medium of instruction (vācanāmagga) by the Buddha. But we are aware that the term *sanskritabhāṣā* is of later origin, we mean later than the time of the Buddha and Pāṇini. In Pāṇini's *Aṣṭadhyāyī*, *bhāṣā* (that is, Sanskrit language) is divided into Vedic (vaidika) and current (laukika) and by the term *chandasa*, Pāṇini meant the Vedic language as distinguished from the current form of Sanskrit. It is precisely in this sense that the term *chandasa* was used, if it was used at all by the Buddha in the 6th century B.C. With the Buddha *chandasa* or Vedic language was the prototype of languages that had become archaic and obsolete, dead as distinguished from living speech. It is beyond our comprehension how Buddhaghosa went so far as to suggest that by the term sakānirutti, the Buddha meant his own medium of instruction and nothing but Māgadhaka or the Māgadhī dialect. Nothing would have been more distant from the intention of a rational thinker like the Buddha than to commit himself to such an opinion which is irrational, erroneous, and dogmatic. He could not have done so without doing violence to his position as a sammādiṭṭhika and vibhajjavādin. To give out that the Māgadhī is the only correct form of speech for the promulgation of his teachings and every other dialect would be the incorrect form is a

micchādiṭṭhi or erroneous opinion which the Buddha would ever fight shy of. Buddhaghosa has misled us all. To rightly interpret the injunction of the Buddha, we should first of all look into the context. The circumstances that led the Buddha to lay down the injunction are stated as follows :—

"tena kho pana samayena yameḷutekulā nāma bhikkhū dve bhātikā honti brāhmaṇajātīkā kalyāṇavācā kalyāṇavākkaraṇā. Te yena bhagavā ten 'upasaṃkamiṃsu, upasaṃkamitvā bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu, ekamantaṃ nisinnā kho te bhikkhū bhagavantaṃ etad avocuṃ : etarahi bhante bhikkhū nānānāmā nānāgottā nānājaccā nānākulā pabbajitā, te sakāya niruttiyā buddhavacanaṃ dūsenti. Handa mayaṃ bhante buddhavacanaṃ chandaso āropemāti. Vīgarahi buddho bhagavā. Kathañ hi nāma tumhe moghapurisā evaṃ vakkhatha : handa mayaṃ bhante buddhavacanaṃ chandaso āropemāti".... This passage may be translated into English thus—At that time the two brothers who were bhikkhus of the yameḷutekula were of brahmin origin and spoke and talked of good only. They approached the Buddha where he was and having approached the Blessed One saluted him and sat on one side. Those bhikkhus who were seated on one side spoke to the Blessed One thus, "Venerable sir, these bhikkhus who embraced pabbajā, possess different names and are of different lineages, births, and families. They are polluting the Buddha's words by preaching them in their own local dialects. And now Venerable sir, we shall render the Buddha's words into *chandaso.*" But the Buddha rebuked the bhikkhus thus, "How you foolish persons speak thus : And now Venerable sir we shall render the Buddha's words into *chandaso* (one who knows the Vedas)". [Oldenberg, The Vinaya Piṭakaṃ, Vol. II, p. 139.]

This goes to show that the Buddhist Fraternity of the time was composed of persons of diverse names, of diverse cultural groups, of diverse races,

designations? Here, O Bhikkhus, it so happens that in some locality a thing is known by the name of Pāti, in some by the name of Patta, in some by the name of Vittha, in some by the name of Sarāva, in some by the name of Dhāropa, in some by the name of Poṇa, and in some by the name of Pisīla. Now the people of different localities pay too much attention and lay too much stress on the different names of the same word and boastfully say regarding their own form for the word: "This is the only correct form, and the others are incorrect." Thus a man, O Bhikkhus, pays too much attention to the local forms, and lays too much stress on the local designations. How, O Bhikkhus, a man does not pay too much attention to the local forms, and does not lay too much stress on the local designations? Here, O Bhikkhus, it so happens that a thing is known by different designations in different localities, in some by the name of Pāti, in some by the name of Patta, in some by the name of Vittha, in some by the name of Sarāva, in some by the name of Dhāropa, in some by the name of Poṇa, and in some by the name of Pisīla. Now a man of a particular locality, when he is in other localities where different names of the same thing are in vogue, knowing that in different localities different names of the same thing are used conventionally by the gentlemen, uses different names in different localities without any attachment to his own local form. Thus a man does not pay too much attention to the local forms, and does not lay too much stress on the local designations. Accordingly, it is stated that the local forms should not merit too much attention and the local designations should not be stressed too much.

That which we are now taught to call the Pāli language is a distinct Indian vehicle of expression standardised in the Theravāda recension of the Buddhist canon and its commentaries and other auxiliary works which are current in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam. The history of Buddhism bears a clear

testimony to the fact that none of the other sects adopted or adhered to this particular vehicle of expression. The Theravādins or no-changers among the followers of the Buddha sighed in vain over the departure made by each new sect (Dīpavaṁsa, Oldenberg, Chap. V, Verses 42–44, 48–50) from that which was considered by them to be the standard language, or the standard corpus of authentic texts or the standard mode of interpretation and in this respect it is the bhikkhus of the Vajjian origin who led the way.[1]

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> " Mahāsaṃgītikā bhikkhū vilomaṃ akaṃsu sāsanaṃ,
> bhinditvā mūlasaṃgahaṃ aññaṃ akaṃsu saṃgahaṃ
> aññattha saṃgahitaṃ suttaṃ aññattha akariṃsu te,
> atthaṃ dhammañ ca bhindiṃsu ye nikāyesu pañcasu.
> pariyāyadesitañ cāpi atho nippariyāyadesitaṃ
> nītatthañ c'eva neyyatthaṃ ajānitvāna bhikkhavo
> aññaṃ sandhāya bhaṇitaṃ aññatthaṃ ṭhapayiṃsu te,
> byañjanacchāyāya te bhikkhū bahu atthaṃ vināsayuṃ.
> chaḍḍetvā ekadesañ ca suttaṃ vinayañ ca gambhīraṃ
> patirūpaṃ suttavinayaṃ tañ ca aññaṃ kariṃsu te.
> parivāraṃ atthuddhāraṃ abhidhammappakaranaṃ
> patisambhidān ca niddesaṃ ekadesañ ca jātakaṃ
> ettakaṃ nissajjetvāna aññāni akariṃsu te.
> nāmaṁ liṅgaṃ parikkhāraṃ ākappakaraṇāni ca
> pakatibhāvaṃ vijahetvā tañ ca aññaṃ akaṃsu te"
> (Oldenberg, Dīpavaṃsa, Verses 32–38, p. 36).

The above stanzas may be thus translated:—

The bhikkhus of the Great Council made a compilation of the doctrine quite opposite to the true faith. They destroyed the original redaction of the dhamma and made a new redaction of the same. The sutta which has been placed in one place originally was placed by them in another place. They altered the meaning (attha) and the faith (dhamma) in the five nikāyas. They not knowing what had been taught in long expositions nor without exposition, neither the natural meaning nor the suppressed meaning, gave a different meaning to that which had been said in connection with an altogether different thing. They altered a great deal of meaning under the shadow of letter. They discarded some portions of the sutta and of the profound vinaya and compiled different sutta and vinaya which had only the appearance of the genuine ones. They rejected the Parivāra, that which enables one to arrive at the meaning, the Abhidhammapakaraṇa, the Paṭisaṁbhidā, the Niddesa and some portions of the Jātaka and composed new ones. They did away with the original rules regarding nouns, genders, composition and the embellishments of style and made new ones.

According to Max Walleser, Pāli is contracted from Pāṭali or Pāḍali and the assumption is that it was a language of Pāṭaliputra. Dr. E. J. Thomas says that Dr. Walleser has not produced any evidence to show that Pāli is ever used in the commentaries to indicate a language. "What we want is at least a single example to show that the commentator was contrasting the Pāli language with some other (E. J. Thomas' note on Dr. Walleser on the meaning of Pāli, Indian Historical Quarterly, December, 1928—Miscellany).

According to R. C. Childers, the internal evidence confirms that Pāli was a vernacular of the people. The change which Pāli has undergone relatively to Sanskrit is almost wholly confined to vocabulary; its alphabet is deficient in vowels, the dual is lost, some verbal roots are unrepresented while many vowel forms have disappeared. But the gain in other direction due to the latitude of phonetic change and the incorporation of new nouns and verbal forms is not inconsiderable. There is no foreign element in Pāli with the exception of a very few imported Dravidian nouns. It is on the whole in the same inflexional stage as Sanskrit and everything in its vocabulary, grammar and syntax can be explained from the sister tongue (Childers' Pāli Dictionary, pp. xv-xvi). In the opinion of James Alwis,[1] Sanskrit was no longer the vernacular speech of the people when Buddhism arose. Pāli was one of the dialects in current use in India. It was the language of Magadha. Many Pāli theological terms have cognate expression in the brahmanic literature but the significations assigned to them are different in the two languages. Pāli was retained more than two centuries afterwards till Aśoka's time. The difference between the dialects of the inscriptions and that of the Pāli text denotes that the former as a spoken language underwent changes while the latter became

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[1] *Vide* the Buddhist Scriptures and their language.

fixed in Ceylon as the sacred language of the scriptures. Mr. Alwis says that Māgadhī is undoubtedly the correct and original name for Pāli. It is clear, therefore, that he agrees with the view of Childers. He further points out that at the time of Gautama there were 16 dialects prevalent in India. Preference was given to Māgadhī. The Buddhist scriptures of the Hīnayānists were written in that dialect. The existence of 35 works on Pāli grammar in Ceylon shows the great attention paid to the language. The high antiquity of Pāli, its refinement, its verbal and grammatical simplicity, its relationship with the oldest language of the brahmins, proves it to be a dialect of high antiquity. The decline of Pāli in Asia was co-existent with the decline of the religion taught through its medium. Dr. Oldenberg rejects the mission of Mahinda as unhistorical and points out that the introduction of Pāli into Ceylon was due to the influence of the people of Kaliṅga. He says that the home of the Pāli language must be looked for more to the south than to the north of the Vindhya mountains (*vide* Vinaya Piṭaka, Intro., pp. i, foll., and p. liv). Sir George Grierson agrees with Windisch[1] in holding that literary Pāli is Māgadhī. Winternitz supports this view. According to him, Pāli is a language of literature which has been exclusively employed by the Buddhists and has sprung like every literary language more or less from an admixture of several dialects. Such a literary tongue is ultimately derived from one definite dialect. And this the Māgadhī can very well be so that the tradition which makes Pāli and Māgadhī synonymous is not to be accepted literally but at the same time it rests on an historical basis. The literary language, Pāli, developed gradually and was probably fixed when it was reduced to writing in Ceylon under

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[1] Über den sprachlichen charakter des Pāli in actes du xiv Congrès International des Orientalistes, pt. I, pp. 252 foll. and 277 foll.

Vaṭṭagāmanī (Views of Winternitz quoted by Mr. Nariman in his book "Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism", pp. 213-214). Literary Pāli was then spoken and was used as a medium of literary instruction in the University of Taxila. It was the language of the educated Buddhists and in a polished form would naturally be used by them for literary purposes (Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, 1917—The Home of Literary Pāli). Otto Franke points out that literary Pāli cannot have had its home in the Eastern part of Northern India. There are points of similarity and dissimilarity between literary Pāli and the language of the Kharoṣṭhī documents of the North-Western India; literary Pāli has many points of difference as compared with the language of the inscriptions of the Deccan, and the language of the inscriptions of the western Madhyadeśa shows most points of agreement with literary Pāli though there are points of dissimilarity (Pāli und Sanskrit, Ch. X, p. 138). According to Edward Müller (Pāli Language, p. ix), in early times it was the north-west of Ceylon which was the seat of culture pointing to influence from Southern India and not to Aryan immigration from the Ganges valley. Westergaard[1] and Kuhn[2] connect Pāli with the dialect of Ujjain, relying not merely on the connection with the Girnar dialect of Aśokan inscriptions but also on the view that this was the mother tongue of Mahinda. W. Geiger regards Pāli as a keine based on Ārdhamāgadhī.[3] Dr. H. Lüders

[1] Über den altesten zeitraum der Indischen Geschichte, p. 87.

[2] Beiträge Zur Pāli Grammatik, p. 9.

[3] Prof. P. V. Bapat in his paper on the relation between Pāli and Ārdhamāgadhī published in the Indian Historical Quarterly, March, 1928, has adequately shown that from the evidences of phonology, grammar, the relation of Ārdhamāgadhī vocabulary with that of Sanskrit, Pāli and Māhrātti and the works of Kātyāyana and Pātañjalī, it is not safe to come to the conclusion that Pāli is a literary language based on Ārdhamāgadhī. *Vide* also "A Comparative Study of a few Jain Ārdhamāgadhī Texts with the Texts of the Buddhist Pāli Canon" by Prof. P. V. Bapat in the

(Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen, pp. 40 ff.) suggests that the oldest Buddhist scriptures were composed in old Ārdhamāgadhī and that in part at least the existing Pāli canon represents a translation from the old Ārdhamāgadhī. Dr. Sten Konow says that the Vindhya tract is the home of Pāli. He finds similarity in Pāli and Paiśācī Prākrit which seems to have been spoken in the country to the north of Vindhya. Sylvain Lèvi (Journal Asiatique, Ser. XX, 495 ff.) holds that we must recognise in Pāli traces of a dialect in which sound changes had proceeded further than what is found in Pāli. The Jains and Buddhists used first one of the dialects of Magadha in which consonant degradation had been in progress; when finally they came to reduce their scriptures to permanent form, the Jains carried out a systematic reduction of intervocalic consonant to the Ya-sruti, while Buddhism acted in the opposite sense under the influence of Western elements which gained control over the church. Dr. Keith is right in pointing out that the argument of Lèvi rests on a number of peculiarities in Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit in which he holds we must see traces of the forms of words employed in the older version of the canon and supported by the analogous forms in inscriptions. Thus the Bhābrū Edict contains the form 'Lāghulovāde' instead of 'Rāhulovāda', 'Adhigicya' instead of 'Adhikritya', but the softening of 'k' is rare in Pāli and the retention of 'cy' is alien to Pāli. Besides he mentions 'Anādhapeḍika' instead of 'Anāthapiṇḍika', 'Maghādeviya Jātaka' instead of 'Makhādeva Jātaka', 'avayesi' instead of 'avādesi' and so forth. According to Rhys Davids, Pāli was a literary dialect based on the spoken language of Kośala (Buddhist India, pp. 153-4). Rhys Davids further says that there existed a standard Kosalan speech in the 7th and

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Sir Ashutosh Mukerji Memorial Volume published by Prof. J. N. Samaddar, pt. II, pp. 91–105.

6th centuries B.C., which was the speech of the Buddha and the Pāli scriptures were in the main composed within a century after the Buddha's death in this Kosalan country. The Aśokan inscriptions prove the existence of a standard language which is a younger form of the standard Kosalan. Dr. Keith ably points out that there is no reason whatever to accept the view that the language of Aśoka's Magadhan empire was Kosalan or to accept the suggestion that Kosala became a part of Magadha by the peaceful succession of the Magadhan ruler to the Kosalan throne with the result that the language of Kosala prevailed over the language of Magadha. Rhys Davids ignores the conclusive evidence of the Bhābrū inscription which shows that Aśoka did not follow a Pāli canon even if he knew a canon and if he adapted his own language to give titles of canonical texts, we cannot doubt that his contemporaries would also hand down the text adapted in language to the speech of the day in accordance with the probable intention of the Master himself. Dr. Keith further criticises Rhys Davids by saying that the facts revealed a different aspect. The Buddha preached in dialect which we cannot define because we have no authentic information, it may have been standard Kosalan or Magadhan dialect but we have no knowledge to decide or to describe their characteristics. The Aśokan official or standard speech cannot be styled Māgadhī but Ārdhamāgadhī. But this Ārdhamāgadhī or other Magadhan dialect is not reproduced in Pāli. The basis of Pāli is some western dialect and in its literary form as shown in the Pāli canon, we have a decidedly artificial composite product doubtless largely affected by Sanskrit and substantially removed from a true vernacular. But it must be noted as against Rhys Davids that the forms of Pāli are not historically the oldest of those known to us. Even in the case of the Girnar dialect of the Aśokan inscriptions, it is impossible to

establish the priority of Pāli in view of such phenomena as the retention of long vowels before double consonants and traces of the retention of 'r' in certain consonantal combinations as well as the use of 'ṣt' where Pāli assimilates; moreover that dialect appears to have maintained a distinction for sometime between the palatal and lingual sibilants. There is, therefore, nothing whatever in the linguistic facts to throw doubt about the date above suggested. (Pāli, the Language of the Southern Buddhists, published in the Indian Historical Quarterly, September, 1925.) Mrs. Rhys Davids points out that Pāli is not the name of any localizable tongue. Pāli means 'row'. She says that we have it in the name of the famous courtesan convert Ambapālī (Mango-orchard-er lit. mango-rower) whose birth tradition suggested her name and she also quotes the Visudhimagga to show that the teeth are said to be in a pāli (dantapāli). She further says that it is almost in juxtaposition to this term that we read, "Give him the Pāli of the 32 bodily parts to learn", in other words, give him either a written leaf of that list of parts or merely the repeated "row" of terms. She is much against the theory that Pāli is only another name for Māgadhese, i.e., the Prākrit spoken in Aśoka's day at Patna. According to her, it is truer to say that in Pāli, here and there, we find forms of Māgadhī and Ārdhamāgadhī peeping out, than that Pāli has its base in them and them only. When India was bookless and laboriously punching letters on little metalplates, she was cutting shapes in stones she was carving. For these two operations she appears to have had but the one word 'likh', 'lekh', to scratch or incise. We began our writing relatively earlier; we had the two words. With the growing need, and the new material for setting down not mere lists, donations, contracts in writing, but also the expanded masses of her mantras, there came to pass the new and impressive phenomenon of seeing that which had been a time-series in air, become

a "row" of things in space. And for a long time it remained customary to allude to the two series in juxtaposition: the "row" as not the 'talk on the meaning' (aṭṭhakathā). Still later, when more were learning to read the row, the word 'reading' (pāṭha) was substituted for the word 'row', e.g., "the reading is also thus", alluding to variant readings, "ayaṁ pi pāṭho". But not at first; and so in Pāli, in default of an alternative term for graphic presentation, we have emphasis thrown not on to the handicraft, as in lekhana, likhi, but on to the thing produced by handicraft, the visible, finished act. Pāli is just "Text" and there is no reason to believe that it was ever more than that. (Sakya or Buddhist Origins by Mrs. Rhys Davids, App. I, pp. 429-30.) Prof. Turner says that according to some the meaning of Pāli has been extended to cover all the cognate Middle Indian dialects found in the inscriptions and other documents. Pāli, in its earliest texts, is a language of mixed dialectical forms, some common to both north-western and eastern dialects; others peculiarly eastern. These may be due to the influence of an original recension in an eastern dialect or to the general influence of the eastern vernaculars on the other Indo-Aryan languages, especially during the predominance of the Mauryan empire with its eastern capital. Its main characteristics are those of a western dialect. Tradition has it that the Buddhist Scriptures were brought to Ceylon by Aśoka's son, Mahinda, who had spent his childhood in Ujjenī. In Ceylon the study and the use of Pāli which died out in India, was prosecuted by the Buddhists and carried thence to Burma and Siam, where it still remains to some extent the language of literature or at least of religion. (Pāli Language and Literature, The Encyclopædia Britannica, 14th Edition, Vol. XVII, 145-146.) Taking into consideration the fact that the Buddha and Mahāvīra were natives of the East, some presume that in their discourses they must have used the

eastern or Prācya dialect. It is difficult to say what is that, because we have contemporary records of the earlier speech. Thus we find various theories regarding the original home of the Pāli language. It is difficult to come to a definite conclusion about it. All attempts to ascertain the dialect which the Buddha made the medium of his instructions have proved futile. We think that Pāli is based on a western form of the Indian Prakritic dialects particularly the form which tallied with the dialect of the Girnar version of Aśoka's Rock Edicts and to some extent with the Sauraseni prākrit as known to the grammarians. On examining the Pāli canonical texts it will be clear that the tendency of Pāli is to steer clear of Māgadhism. The instances of Māgadhism cited from the Pāli texts, e.g., "sukhe-dukkhe jīvasattame", "akaṭā akaṭavidhā" (Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 56), "N'atthi attakāre n'atthi parakāre, n'atthi purisa-kāre", (Dīgha, Vol. I, p. 53) do not affect the character of Pāli as these occur where the doctrines of other contemporary teachers, e.g., Pakudha Kaccāyana and Makkhali Gosāla have been quoted and discussed. It is important to observe that these forms do not occur in those places where the doctrines of Pakudha Kaccāyana and Makkhali Gosāla have been restated in their own language, i.e., in Pāli. The exceptional forms, e.g., Isigili for Isigiri (Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. III, pt. i, p. 68) do not lend support to the argument in favour of the influence of Māgadhism in Pāli, Isigili being explained as a Māgadhī spelling retained for a very special reason (*vide* B. M. Barua's Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves, p. 165). In order to arrive at a definite conclusion regarding the origin of the Pāli language, it will be necessary to leave aside not only the instances of Māgadhism noted above but also some of the Prākrit and Vedic survivals in the gāthās, e.g., vaḍḍha for vṛddha, netave for netuṃ, pahātave for pahātuṃ, these forms being altogether absent in the Pāli prose portions.

2. *Importance of the Study of Pāli.*—The study of Pāli is essential for the reconstruction of the history of Ancient India. Pāli literature is vast and rich in materials which render an invaluable aid to the systematic study of ancient Indian history. There are many Pāli books buried in manuscripts which are not easily procurable. The Pāli commentaries furnish us with a great storehouse of valuable information regarding the literary, linguistic, social, economic, political, architectural, and religious history of Ancient India. The psycho-ethical analysis of dhammas, the classification of various types of consciousness, mental processes, causal relations and the like form a highly special contribution in Pāli to Indian wisdom. The activities of one of the great religious reformers of India, namely Gotama Buddha, can be well understood by a careful study of some of the books of the Pāli Piṭakas. To a student of the ancient history of India, the study of Pāli is as important as that of Sanskrit and the Prākrits and in a sense more important as furnishing reliable data of chronology. That Pāli has not been so well studied in the east as in the west is evident from the publications of the western scholars in this line. In the west, Trenckner, Clough, Spiegel, Westergaard, Childers, James Alwis, Fausböll, Anderson, Turnour, Bendall, Pischel, Minayeff, Edmund Hardy, Oldenberg, Kern, Bigandet, Richard Morris, H. C. Norman, T. W. Rhys Davids, C. A. F. Rhys Davids, Keith, Geiger, Walleser, Windisch, E. J. Carpenter, Robert Chalmers, La Vallee Poussin, Rouse, Warren, E. J. Thomas, Sir George Grierson, Otto Schrader, Arnold Taylor, Winternitz, Warren, Lesny, Sten Konow, Mabel Bode, Landsberg, Jacobi, Lanman, Burlingame, Grimm, Jackson, Moore, Steinthal, Strong, Stede, Helmer Smith, Sir Charles Eliot, Leon Feer, Otto Franke, Frankfurter, James Woods, Woodward, J. Przyluski, and others have rendered immense services to the cause of Pāli study by way of editing and translating many original Pāli texts

and publishing many valuable books on Buddhism. We are indeed grateful to T. W. Rhys Davids and C. A. F. Rhys Davids who have done really immense good to the world by publishing their learned researches in the field of Pāli. No scholars have done so much work as they have done. The Pāli Text Society of London under the able guidance of Rhys Davids is bound to be remembered by scholars interested in Buddhism and Buddhist history from generation to generation. In the school of Oriental studies, London Institution, Pāli is taught as one of the subjects prescribed for study. In the east, the study of Pāli is greatly progressing now. Scholars like Takakusu, Anesaki, Sujuki, Nagai, Watanabe, Buddhadatta, Haraprasād Shāstrī, Dharmānanda Kosambī, B. M. Barua, the late Satish Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa, the late Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E., the late Rev. Suriyagoḍa Sumaṅgala, Bapat, the late Harinath De, Rev. Anāgārika Dhammapāla, Shwe Zan Aung, Ledi Sadaw, Gooneratna, Jayatilaka, Nārada, W. A. DeSilva, Tailang, Zoysa, P. Maung Tin, Malalasekera, Siddhārtha, the late thavīra Puṇṇānanda and a band of new enthusiasts materially helped and are helping the study of Pāli. Our grateful thanks are due to His Majesty the King of Siam for removing a longfelt want by the publication of the whole of the Pāli Tripiṭaka, a precious work on Buddhism. We agree with Lord Chalmers who speaks of this edition in the following words :—

"In Pāli scholarship the edition (the King of Siam's Edition of the Pāli Tripiṭaka) will always remain a great landmark on the path of progress and an enduring monument alike in Europe and in Siam—to the Buddhist King who conceived and executed so excellent an undertaking" (J.R.A.S., 1898). Further bounties of His Majesty's family and kinsmen have found a permanent expression in the publication and free distribution of a royal edition of fully indexed commentaries of Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla, the Milinda Pañha and the Jātakas. The noble example of the royal family

of Siam has been followed in Ceylon by the publication and free distribution of the Pāli commentaries by a fund commemorating the name of the late lamented Dr. Hewavitaraṇe, brother of the late Rev. Anāgārika Dhammapāla.

Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Chittagong, Japan, Korea, Tibet, China, and Mongolia are the countries largely inhabited by the Buddhists. The majority of the residents of Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and Chittagong study Pāli. Besides, there are other places in India where Pāli is studied. Pāli is one of the vernaculars prescribed for study in many Indian Universities.

It is gratifying to note that our Alma Mater, the University of Calcutta, under the guidance of its ablest Vice-Chancellor, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I., M.A., D.L., Saraswatī, Shāstravāchaspati, Saṁbuddhāgamacakkavattī, greatly furthered the study of Pāli language and literature and it was he who encouraged students wholeheartedly to learn one of the great Oriental languages, namely Pāli, in which the literature of Buddhism has been written. His encouragement was a source of inspiration to the author and to all other students in all branches of study, and his death is a great loss not only to our Alma Mater but also to the whole of India.

CHAPTER I

CHRONOLOGY OF THE PĀLI CANON

Rhys Davids in his Buddhist India (p. 188) has given a chronological table of Buddhist literature from the time of the Buddha to the time of Aśoka which is as follows:—

1. The simple statements of Buddhist doctrine now found, in identical words, in paragraphs or verses recurring in all the books.
2. Episodes found, in identical words, in two or more of the existing books.
3. The Sīlas, the Pārāyaṇa, the Octades, the Pātimokkha.
4. The Dīgha, Majjhima, Aṅguttara, and Saṁyutta Nikāyas.
5. The Sutta Nipāta, the Thera- and Therī-Gāthās, the Udānas, and the Khuddakapāṭha.
6. The Suttavibhaṅga and the Khandhakas.
7. The Jātakas and the Dhammapadas.
8. The Niddesa, the Itivuttakas, and the Paṭisambhidā.
9. The Peta- and Vimāna-Vatthus, the Apadānas, the Cariyā Piṭaka, and the Buddha Vaṁsa.
10. The Abhidhamma books; the last of which is the Kathāvatthu and the earliest probably the Puggalapaññatti.

This chronological table of early Buddhist literature is too catechetical, too cut and dried and too general to be accepted in spite of its suggestiveness as a sure guide to determination of the chronology of the Pāli Canonical texts. The Octades and the Pātimokkha are mentioned by Rhys Davids as literary compilations representing the third stage in the order of the chronology. The Pāli title corresponding to his Octades is Aṭṭhakavagga, the Book of Eights. The Book of Eights, as we have it in the Mahāniddesa or in the fourth book

of the Sutta Nipāta, is composed of 16 poetical discourses, only four of which share the common title of Aṭṭhaka, namely Guhaṭṭhaka, Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka, Suddhaṭṭhaka, and Paramaṭṭhaka and consist each of eight stanzas. That is to say, the four only out of the sixteen poems fulfil the definition of an Aṭṭhaka or octad, while none of the remaining poems consists as it ought to, of eight stanzas. The present Aṭṭhakavagga composed of 16 poems may be safely placed anterior to both the Mahāniddesa and Sutta Nipāta. But before cataloguing it as a compilation prior to the four nikāyas and the Vinaya texts, it is necessary to ascertain whether the Aṭṭhakavagga presupposed by the four nikāyas was a book of four poems bearing each the title of Aṭṭhaka and consisting each of eight stanzas or it was even in its original form an anthology of 16 poems. Similarly in placing the Pātimokkha in the same category with the Sīlas and Pārāyaṇas, it would be important to enquire whether the Pātimokkha as a bare code of monastic rules was then in existence or not, and even if it were then in existence, whether it contained in its original form 227 rules or less than this number. There are clear passages in the Aṅguttara Nikāya to indicate that the earlier code was composed of one and half hundred rules or little more (Sādhikaṁ diyaḍḍhasikkhāpadasataṁ, A.N., Vol. I, p. 232). As Buddhaghosa explains the Pāli expression, "Sādhikaṁ diyaḍḍhasikkhāpadasataṁ", it means just 150 rules. According to a more reasonable interpretation the number implied in the expression must be taken to be more than 150 and less than 200. If the earlier code presupposed by the Aṅguttara passages was composed of rules near about 150 and even not 200, it may be pertinent to ask if the Pātimokkha, as we now have it, was the very code that had existed prior to the Aṅguttara Nikāya. Our doubt as to the antiquity of the Pātimokkha as a bare code of rules is intensified by the tradition recorded by Buddhaghosa in the introduc-

tion to his Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (pt. I, p. 17), that the two codes of the Pātimokkha were to be counted among the books that were not rehearsed in the First Buddhist Council.

The putting of the first four nikāyas under head No. 4 with the implication that these were anterior to the Sutta Nipāta and the remaining books of the Pāli Canon are no less open to dispute. With regard to the Dīgha Nikāya it has been directly pointed out by Buddhaghosa that the concluding verses of the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta relating to the redistribution of the Buddha's bodily remains were originally composed by the rehearsers of the Third Buddhist Council and added later on by the Buddhist teachers of Ceylon. A material objection to putting the Dīgha and the Aṅguttara Nikāyas in the same category is that in the Dīgha Nikāya the story of Mahāgovinda (Dīgha, II, pp. 220 foll.) has assumed the earlier forms of Jātakas characterised by the concluding identification of the Buddha, the narrator of the story, with its hero, while in the Aṅguttara Nikāya the story is a simple chronicle of seven purohitas without the identification. The four nikāyas are interspersed with a number of legendary materials of the life of the Buddha which appear at once to be inventions of a later age when the Buddha came to be regarded and worshipped as a superhuman personality (read The Life of Gotama the Buddha by E. H. Brewster). Our case is that without discriminating the different strata of literary accretions it will be dangerous to relegate all the four nikāyas to the early stage of the Pāli Canon.

The Sutta Nipāta figures prominently in the fifth order of the chronology suggested by Rhys Davids. Without disputing that there are numerous instances of archaism in the individual suttas or stanzas composing this anthology, we have sufficient reasons to doubt that the anthology as a whole was at all anterior to the Niddesa which heads the list of the Pāli Canonical texts representing

the eighth order. By the Niddesa we are to understand two separate exegetical works counted among the books of the Khuddaka Nikāya—(1) the Mahāniddesa being a philological commentary on the poems of the Aṭṭhakavagga (forming the fourth book of the Sutta Nipāta, and (2) the Cullaniddesa being a similar commentary on the poems of the Pārāyaṇavagga (forming the fifth or last book of the Sutta Nipāta). The two questions[1] calling for an answer in this connection are (1) was the Mahāniddesa composed, being intended as a commentary on the Aṭṭhakavagga, the fourth book of the Sutta Nipāta or on the Aṭṭhakavagga, then known to the Buddhist community as a distinct anthology? and (2) was the Cullaniddesa composed, being intended as a commentary on the Pārāyaṇavagga, the fifth book of the Sutta Nipāta or on the Pārāyaṇavagga, then known to the Buddhist community as a distinct collection of poems? With regard to the second question it may be pointed out that the poems of the Pārāyaṇa group, as these are found in the Sutta Nipāta, are prologued by 56 Vatthugāthās, while the Cullaniddesa is found without these introductory stanzas. The inference as to the exclusion is based upon the fact that in the body of the Cullaniddesa, there is nowhere any gloss on any of the introductory stanzas. We notice, moreover, that the glosses of the Cullaniddesa are not confined to the 16 poems of the Pārāyaṇavagga, the scheme of the Canonical commentary including an additional sutta, namely the Khaggavisāṇa, which now forms the second sutta of the first book of the Sutta Nipāta. From the place assigned to this particular sutta in the Cullaniddesa, it is evident that when the Cullaniddesa was composed, it passed as a de-

[1] *Vide* B. M. Barua's Aṭṭhakavagga and Pārāyaṇavagga as two independent Buddhist anthologies—Proceedings and Transactions of the Fourth Oriental Conference, Allahabad, 1928, pp. 211–219.

tached sutta, not belonging to any particular group, such as the Uragavagga. The stray nature of the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta may be taken as conclusive also from its mixed Sanskrit version in the Mahāvastu (Senart's Edition, Vol. I, pp. 357–359), in which, too, it is not relegated to any group. If any legitimate hypothesis is to be made keeping the above facts in view it should be that the scheme of anthology in the Cullaniddesa rather shows the anthology of the Sutta Nipāta yet in the making than presupposing it as a *fait accompli.*

Even with regard to the first question concerning the chronological order of the Mahāniddesa and Sutta Nipāta, a similar hypothesis may be entertained without much fear of contradiction. The Mahāniddesa, according to its internal evidence, is an exegetical treatise which was modelled on an earlier exegesis attempted by Mahākaccāna on one of the suttas of the Aṭṭhakavagga, namely, the Māgandiya Sutta (Cullaniddesa, pp. 197 ff.). The modern exegesis of Mahākaccāna forming the cornerstone of the Mahāniddesa can be traced as a separate sutta of the Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. III, p. 9 where the sutta commented on by Mahākaccāna is expressly counted as a sutta of the Aṭṭhakavagga (Aṭṭhakavaggike Māgandiya pañhe). Once it is admitted that the Aṭṭhaka group of poems had existed as a distinct anthology even before the first redaction of the Saṁyutta Nikāya and Mahākaccāna's model exegesis on one of its suttas and, moreover, that the Mahāniddesa as an exegetical work was entirely based upon that earlier model, it is far safer to think that the Mahāniddesa presupposes the Aṭṭhakavagga itself as a distinct collection of poems rather than as the Aṭṭhakavagga of the Sutta Nipāta. Though the scheme of anthology in the Mahāniddesa includes only the poems of the Aṭṭha group, there is a collateral evidence to prove that in an earlier stage of Pāli Canonical literature two stray poems were associated with those of the Aṭṭhaka group just in the same way

that the stray poem, Khaggavisāṇa sutta, has been associated in the Cullaniddesa with the poems of the Pārāyaṇa group. The Divyāvadāna, for instance, mentions that Pūrṇa an associate of sthavīra Mahākātyāyana, recited the Munigāthā and Sailagāthā[1] along with the poems of Arthavagga (Pāli Aṭṭhakavagga) with the implication that the Munigāthā (corresponding to Pāli Munisutta) and Sailagāthā (corresponding to Pāli Selasutta), included respectively in the Uragasutta, the first book, and in the Mahāvagga, the third book of the Sutta Nipāta, were associated with the poems of the Aṭṭhaka group. To put forward another argument the Nālaka Sutta in the third book of the Sutta Nipāta is prologued by 20 Vatthugāthās or introductory stanzas which are absent from its mixed Sanskrit version in the Mahāvastu (Vol. III, pp. 386 foll., Nālakaprasna). Judged by the theme and metre of the Vatthugāthās, they stand quite apart from the sutta proper. The sutta proper is a moral discourse of the Buddha which is quite on a par with several suttas in the Sutta Nipāta and other texts, while in the Vatthugāthās, we come to hit all of a sudden on a highly poetical composition serving as a historical model to the Buddhacarita of Aśwaghoṣa.[2] The Moneya Sūte (Moneyya Sutta) is one of the seven tracts recommended by King Aśoka in his Bhābrū Edict for the constant study of the Buddhists. This sutta has been rightly identified by Prof. D. Kosambi (Indian Antiquary, 1912, Vol. XLI, pp. 37–40) with the Nālaka Sutta in the Sutta Nipāta which, as pointed out above, has a counterpart in the Mahāvastu (Mahāvastu, Senart's Edition, Vol. II, pp. 30–43 and Vol. III, pp. 382 ff.) where it does not bear any specific title. Judged by its theme, Moneyya Sutta is more

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[1] Cowell and Neil, p. 35.

[2] *Vide* Barua's Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves, p. 173, f.n.

"Dṛṣtvā ca taṁ rājasutaṁ striyastā

jājvalyamānaṁ vapusā Śriyā ca".—Buddhacarita, III, 23.

an appropriate title than Nālaka. The importance of its naming as Nālaka arises only when the Vatthugāthās or the introductory stanzas are prefixed to the sutta without any logical connection between the two. Considered in the light of Aśoka's title Moneya Sūte and the counterpart in the Mahāvastu as well as of the clear anticipation of Aśwaghoṣa's Buddhacarita in the Vatthugāthās, it appears that the christening of the Moneyyasutta as Nālaka and the edition of the introductory stanzas took place sometime after Aśoka's reign and not before. Some stanzas of the Padhāna Sutta have been quoted in the Kathāvatthu which, according to Buddhist tradition, was a compilation of Aśokan time. The stanzas are quoted without any mention of the sutta or of the text on which these have been drawn. The Pāli version of the sutta is to be found only in the Sutta Nipāta, Book III. The inference that can legitimately be drawn from the quotation is that the Padhāna Sutta has existed in some form prior to the compilation of the Kathāvatthu, leaving the question of the Sutta Nipāta altogether open.

The Khuddakapāṭha figures as the last book in the fifth order, it being supposed to be earlier than the Suttavibhaṅga, the Khandhakas, the Jātakas, the Dhammapadas, the Peta, and Vimānavatthus as well as the Kathāvatthu. Buddhaghosa in the introduction to his Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, informs us that the Dīghabhānaka list of the Pāli Canonical texts precluded these four books, namely, the Buddhavaṁsa, the Cariyāpiṭaka, the Apadāna, and the Khuddakapāṭha, while the Majjhimabhānaka list included the first three of them. The preclusion may be explained either as due to sectarian difference of opinion or due to the fact that when the Dīghabhānaka list was drawn up, these four texts were non-existent. If a comparison be made between the Khuddakapāṭha and the Khandhakas, it will be noticed that the first *short lesson* (*saraṇattayam*) of the Khuddakapāṭha was

nothing but a ritualistic elaboration of an earlier refuge-formula that can be traced in a passage of the Khandhakas. The second lesson may be regarded as made up of an extract from another passage occurring in the Khandhakas. The same observation holds true also of the fourth lesson, the Kumārapañhaṁ. The sources being not mentioned, it is indecisive whether the Khuddakapāṭha has drawn upon the Khandhakas or on some isolated passages. *But if judging by the nature of differences in the common passages we are to pronounce our opinion on the relative chronology of the two texts, the priority must be accorded rather to the Khandhakas than to the Khuddakapāṭha.* The Tirokuḍḍasutta of the Khuddakapāṭha is the first and most important sutta of the Petavatthu. Certain quotations in the Kathāvatthu clearly testify to the currency in the 3rd century B.C. of most of the verses composing this sutta. Here again we are to grope in the dark whether the quotations were from the Tirokuḍḍa as an isolated sutta or from a sutta in the Petavatthu or in the Khuddakapāṭha. If any inference may be drawn from the high prominence that it enjoys in the Petavatthu, our opinion will be rather in favour of priority of the Petavatthu.

Now coming to the Kathāvatthu, we have already mentioned that it contains certain significant quotations from two suttas, the Tirokuḍḍa and the Nidhikaṇḍa, both of which are embodied in the Khuddakapāṭha, but there is nothing to show that when the Kathāvatthu was compiled with these quotations, the Khuddakapāṭha itself was then in actual existence, it being quite probable that the quotations were made from the two isolated suttas, we mean when these suttas had not come to be included in the Khuddakapāṭha.

The Abhidhamma treatises figure as latest compilations in the chronological table of Rhys Davids. Of the seven Abhidhamma books, the Kathāvatthu is traditionally known as a com-

pilation of Aśokan age. The credibility of the tradition can be proved by a very peculiar dialectical style of composition developed in this all-important book of Buddhist Controversies and the traces of which can also be found to linger in some of the inscriptions of Aśoka, namely, the Kalsi, Shahabazgarhi and Manserah versions of the 9th Rock Edict (*vide* B. M. Barua's Old Brāhmī Inscriptions, p. 284). Another and more convincing piece of *evidence may be brought forward to prove the credibility of the tradition. Prior to the despatch* of missionaries by Aśoka, Buddhism as a religious movement was confined, more or less, within the territorial limits of what is known in Buddhist literature as the Middle Country (Majjhimadesa) and the Buddhist tradition in Pāli is very definite on this point. The Sāñci stūpas which go back to the date of Aśoka enshrine the relics of the missionaries who were sent out to the Himalayan tracts as also of the "good man" Mogaliputa, aptly identified by Dr. Geiger with Moggaliputta Tissa, the traditional author of the Kathāvatthu. Curiously enough, the Kathāvatthu contains the account of a controversy (I, 3) in which it has been emphatically pointed out that up till the time of this particular controversy, the Buddhist mode of holy life remained confined to the places within the middle country and had not gained ground in any of the outlying tracts (paccantimesu janapadesu), the representatives of Buddhism whether the monks or the laity having had no access to those regions (B. M. Barua, Old Brāhmī Inscriptions, p. 284). The account clearly brings out one important historical fact, namely, that so far as the outlying tracts were concerned, there were undeniably at that time other modes of Indian holy life. It is interesting to find that the 13th Rock Edict of Aśoka is in close agreement with the Kathāvatthu regarding this point. For in this important edict issued in about the 13th or 14th regnal year of King Aśoka, His Sacred and Gracious

Majesty the King definitely says that there was at the time no other tract within his empire save and except the Yona region where the different sects of Indian recluses, the Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas were not to be found or where the inhabitants had not adhered to the tenets of one or other of those sects. (*Vide* Inscriptions of Aśoka by Bhandarkar and Majumdar, pp. 49-50—" Nathi chā she janapade yatā nathi ime nikāyā ānaṁtā yenesha baṁhmane chā shamane chā nathi chā kuvā pi janapadashi (ya) tā nathi manushānaṁ ekatalashi pi pāshaḍashi no nāma pashāde ".) Squaring up the twofold evidence, it is easy to come to the conclusion that the compilation of the Kathāvatthu could not be remote from the reign of Aśoka.

In the Kathāvatthu, there are quotations the sources of which can now be traced in some of the passages in the Vinayapiṭaka, the Dīgha Nikāya, the Majjhima Nikāya, the Saṁyutta Nikāya, the Aṅguttara Nikāya, and some of the books of the Khuddaka Nikāya. A few of the quotations can be traced in the Dhammasaṅgaṇi and the Vibhaṅga among the Abhidhamma books. As the passages are quoted in the Kathāvatthu without any mention of the sources, rather as well known and authoritative words of the Buddha, it cannot be definitely maintained that the quotations were cited from the canonical texts in which the individual passages are traceable. There were suttas in some definite collections but until other definite evidences are forthcoming, it will be risky to identify them with the nikāyas and the Vinaya texts as they are known to us. Even with regard to this point our position remains materially the same if we take our stand on the evidence of the Inscriptions of Aśoka, particularly on that of the Bhābrū Edict. The Bhābrū Edict clearly points back to a well-known collection of Buddha's words, the words which came to be believed as at once final and authoritative (e keṁchi bhaṁte Bhagavatā Budhena bhasite save se subhāsite). But here again we

are helpless as to by what name this collection was then designated and what were its divisions? If such be the state of things, it will be difficult to regard all the Abhidhamma books in the lump as the latest productions among the books of the Pāli piṭakas.

As for the chronology of the Pāli Canonical texts, the safer course will be to fix first of all the upper and lower limits and then to ascertain how the time may be apportioned between them in conceiving their chronological order. As regards the upper limit certain it is that we cannot think of any text on Buddhism before the enlightenment of the Buddha. Whatever be the actual date of the individual texts, it is certainly posterior even to the subsequent incident of the first public statement or promulgation of the fundamental truths of the new religion. The upper limit may be shifted on even to the demise of the Buddha, the first formal collection of the teachings of the Buddha having taken place, according to the unanimity of the Buddhist tradition, after that memorable event. Looked at from this point of view, the period covered by the career of 45 years of the Buddha's active missionary work may be regarded just as the formative period which saw the fashioning of the early materials of the Buddhist Canon. With regard to the lower limit we need not bring it so far down as the time of the Pāli scholiasts, Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa, and Dhammapāla, that is to say, to the 5th century A.D. Going by the tradition, the Buddhist Canon became finally closed when it was committed to writing during the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi of Ceylon (Circa 29–17 B.C.).[1] The truth of this tradition can be substantiated by the clear internal evidence of the text of the Milinda Pañha which was a compilation of about the first century A.D. As is well known, in several passages, the author of the

[1] Dīpavaṁsa (Oldenberg), p. 103, Mahāvaṁsa (Geiger), p. 277.

Milinda Pañha has referred to the Pāli books or to some chapters of them by name and the number of books mentioned by name is sufficiently large to exhaust almost the traditional list. Further, it is evident from references in this text that when it was compiled the division of the canon into three piṭakas and five nikāyas was well established.[1] The Dhammasaṅgaṇi, the Vibhaṅga, the Dhātukathā and the rest were precisely the seven books which composed the Abhidhammapiṭaka and the Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṁyutta, Ekuttara (Aṅguttara), and Khuddaka were the five nikāyas which composed the Suttapiṭaka. The Sinhalese commentaries, the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā, the Mahāpaccariya, the Mahā-kuruṇḍiya, the Andhaka and the rest presupposed by the commentaries of Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa, and Dhammapāla point to the same fact, namely, that the canon became finally closed sometime before the beginning of the Christian era. Thus we can safely fix the last quarter of the 1st century B.C., as the lower limit.

The interval of time between these two limits covers not less than four centuries during which there had been convened as many as six orthodox councils, three in India and three in Ceylon, the first during the reign of King Ajātasattu, the second in the reign of King Kālāsoka (Kākavarṇi of the Purāṇas), the third in the reign of Aśoka, the fourth in the reign of King Devānaṁ Piyatissa of Ceylon, the fifth in the reign of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and the sixth or the last in the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. The Pāli accounts of these councils make it clear that the purpose of each of them was the recital and settling of the canonical texts. If these councils can be regarded as certain definite landmarks in the process of the development of Pāli Canonical literature, we can say that during the first four centuries after the Buddha's demise,

[1] Milinda Pañha (Trenckner ed.), pp. 13, 190, 348, 21, 18 (tīpiṭaka), 341 and 22 (Nikāya).

Pāli literature underwent as many as six successive redactions. Going by the dates assigned to these councils, we may divide the interval into such shorter periods of Pāli literary history as shown below:—

First Period	..	(483–383 B.C.)
Second Period	..	(383–265 B.C.)
Third Period	..	(265–230 B.C.)
Fourth Period	..	(230–80 B.C.)
Fifth Period	..	(80–20 B.C.)

Keeping these periods in view, we can easily dispose of some of the Pāli books. We may take, for instance, the Parivārapāṭha which is the last treatise to be included in the Vinayapiṭaka. This treatise, as clearly stated in the colophon (nigamana) was written in Ceylon by Dīpa, evidently a learned Buddhist scholar of Ceylon as a help to his pupils to the study of the contents of the Vinaya.[1] As such the Parivārapāṭha was composed as a digest of the subject-matter of Vinaya or Buddhist discipline. We say that this treatise was composed in Ceylon because there are references within the text itself that it had been written after the Vinayapiṭaka was promulgated by Thera Mahinda and a number of his disciples and by their disciples in Ceylon. The succession of his disciples from the time of Thera Mahinda as set forth in the Parivārapāṭha (pp. 2-3) may suffice to show that the date of its composition could not be much earlier than the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. Even we may go so far as to suggest that the Parivārapāṭha was the Vinaya treatise which was canonised at the council held during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. For it is clearly stated in the colophon that the author caused the treatise to be written (likhāpesi),

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[1] Parivārapāṭha, Ed. Oldenberg, p. 226.

"Pubbācariyamaggañ ca pucchitvā' va tahiṁ tahiṁ Dīpanāmo mahāpañño sutadharo vicakkhaṇo imaṁ vitthārasaṁkhepaṁ sajjhāmaggena majjhime cintayitvā likhāposi sissakānaṁ sukhāvahaṁ Parivāran ti yaṁ vuttaṁ sabbaṁ vatthuṁ salakkhaṇaṁ atthaṁ atthena saddhamme dhammaṁ dhammena paññatto."

a mode of preserving the scriptures which would be inconceivable before the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. The reference to the island of Tambapaṇṇi or Ceylon is not only in the verses which one might set aside as interpolation but in the prose portions which form the integral parts of the text.

Now if we fix our attention on the traditional verses embodied in the Parivārapāṭha (pp. 2-3, edited by Oldenberg) we have to infer therefrom that the five nikāyas, the seven treatises of the Abhidhammapiṭaka and all the older texts of the Vinayapiṭaka were made known to the people of Ceylon by the wise Mahinda who arrived in Ceylon from Jambudīpa (India) after the Third Buddhist Council had been over.[1]

The Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga are two among the earlier and important texts of the Vinayapiṭaka. Twenty-two Khandhakas or stock fragments are distributed into the two texts, ten into the Mahāvagga and the remaining 12 into the Cullavagga. These fragments constituting the separate divisions are arranged in a chronological order, and they are intended to present a connected account of the ecclesiastical history of the Buddhists from the time of the enlightenment of the Buddha down to that of the Second Buddhist Council which was convened, according to the Cullavagga account, a century after the demise of the Buddha (Vassasataparinibbute Bhagavati). The growth of the two texts may be sought to be accounted for by these two hypotheses ; (1) that the Khandhakas were being added as they came into existence from time to time, or (2) that they were arranged all at the same time according to a set plan. Whatever be the actual merit of these

[1] Parivārapāṭha, pp. 2-3.

"Upāli Dāsako c'eva Sonako Siggavo tathā Moggaliputtena pañcamā ete Jambusirivhaye tato Mahindo Iṭṭiyo Uttiyo Sambalo tathā Bhaddanāmo ca paṇḍito ete nāgā mahāpaññā Jambudīpā idhāgatā, Vinayaṁ te vācayiṁsu piṭakaṁ Tambapaṇṇiyā nikāye pañca vācesuṁ satta c'eva pakāraṇe."

hypotheses, none of them prevents us from maintaining that the series of the Khandhakas was closed with the inclusion of the account of the Second Buddhist Council and that nothing material was added after that, nothing, we mean to say, except the Uddānas or mnemonics in doggerel verses appended to each of the Khandhakas. Had the compilation of the Khandhakas remained open after the Second Buddhist Council, it would have included an account of the later councils, particularly of one held during the reign of Aśoka. This line of argument is sufficiently strong to establish that the date of compilation of the twenty-two Khandhakas as we find them embodied in the Mahāvagga and Cullavagga was anterior to the reign of Aśoka, as well as that its history is primarily associated with the tradition of the Second Buddhist Council. Assuming then that the closing of the collection of the Khandhakas in the shape of the Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga could not be removed from the 1st century of the Buddha era, we may briefly examine what inferences can be drawn from the Cullavagga accounts of the first and second Buddhist councils regarding the development of the canonical texts. First with regard to the earlier Vinaya texts, the Cullavagga account of the Second Buddhist Council (Chap. 12) has referred to the following authorities by name, namely,

(1) Sāvatthiyā Suttavibhaṅga
(2) Rājagahe ,,
(3) Sāvatthiyā ,,
(4) Sāvatthiyā sutta
(5) Kosambiyā ,,
(6) Sāvatthiyā ,,
(7) Rājagahe ,,
(8) Rājagahe uposathasaṁyutte
(9) Campeyyake Vinaya Vatthusmin

The Suttavibhaṅga passages referred to in the Cullavagga account have been found out by Prof.

Oldenberg in the Suttavibhaṅga and what is more, the identified passages have satisfied the context supplied (Sāvatthiyā, Rājagahe, Kosambiyā). Keeping this fact in view, can it be doubted that the Suttavibhaṅga of the Vinayapiṭaka was current as an authoritative text on Vinaya when the Cullavagga account referring to its passages was written ? Now with regard to the remaining two references, namely, Rājagahe, Uposathasaṁyutte and Campeyyake Vinayavatthusmin traced respectively in the Mahāvagga (II, 8, 3) and Mahāvagga (IX, 3, 5), it is curious that the first reference is to a Saṁyutta passage and the second to a Vinayavatthu. Although the Saṁyutta passage has found its place in the Mahāvagga, so long as the fact remains that the reference is to a passage in the Sutta Collection, our inference must be that the Mahāvagga in its extant form was not yet in existence. The second reference is important as pointing back to the existence of certain Vinayavatthus serving as materials for a compilation like the Mahāvagga.

Turning at last to the Cullavagga account of the First Buddhist Council, it will be a mistake to suppose that the account as we have it in the Cullavagga is as old as the time of the council itself. The account must have been posterior to the time when the scriptural authorities of the Buddhist community comprised (1) Ubhato Vinaya —the disciplinary code of the bhikkhus, the disciplinary code of the bhikkhunīs, and (2) Pañcanikāya—the five nikāyas, Dīgha, Majjhima and the rest. Some of the Burmese manuscripts read Ubhato Vibhanga in lieu of Ubhato Vinaya.[1] That may be a mistake. But the contents mentioned in the Cullavagga account are undoubtedly the contents of the two Vibhaṅgas, the Bhikkhu and the

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[1] It may be observed that in giving an account of the First Buddhist Council, Buddhaghosa makes mention of *Ubhato Vibhaṅga* signifying thereby the whole text of the *Suttavibhaṅga* completed in 64 bhāṇavāras (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, pt. I, p. 13).

Bhikkhuṇī. The list of the Sikkhāpadas codified as bare rules in the two Pātimokkhas is important as showing that the author of the Cullavagga account kept in his mind nothing but the Suttavibhaṅga with its two divisions: the Bhikkhu-Vibhaṅga and the Bhikkhuṇī-Vibhaṅga. Further, when this account was written, the five nikāyas were well known. But the contents mentioned are found to be only those of the first two suttas of the Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. I, we mean the Brahmajāla and the Sāmaññaphala Suttantas. In the absence of the remaining details and of the names of the separate texts it is impossible to say that the Dīgha Nikāya as presupposed was completed in all the three volumes as we now get or the five nikāyas as presupposed contained all the 14 suttanta texts as we now have them. One thing, however, is certain that there is yet no reference to the Abhidhamma treatises. For the reference to the Abhidhamma-piṭaka we have to look into the uddānagāthās in which there is mention of the three piṭakas (Piṭakaṁ tiṇī). But nothing should be built upon it with regard to the development of canonical texts in so early period as this on the strength of these uddānagāthās which are apparently later additions.

The line of investigation hitherto followed has compelled us to conclude that the Suttavibhaṅga with its two great divisions, e.g. the Bhikkhu and the Bhikkhuṇī Vibhaṅgas, were extant as authoritative texts on the questions of Vinaya previous to the compilation of the Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga. The historical references that may be traced in the Suttavibhaṅga appertain all to earlier times and cannot, therefore, justify us in assigning the text to a period far removed from the demise of the Buddha. But we have still to enquire whether or not the Suttavibhaṅga can be regarded as the first and the earliest landmark of the Vinaya tracts. It may be sound to premise that the first landmark of the Vinayapiṭaka is not the first landmark of the Vinaya tracts.

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The point at issue really is whether or not the text of the Suttavibhaṅga forming the first landmark of the Vinayapiṭaka presupposes certain earlier literary developments and if so, where can this be traced. This is to ask seriously what was the earlier and more probable denotation of the term *ubhato vinaya*, the two-fold Vinaya. If we decline to interpret it in the sense of two-fold Vibhaṅga, we must be raising this important issue just to remove an anomaly arising from the two-fold signification of the Pañcanikāya divisions of the Pāli Canon. Buddhaghosa, the great Pāli scholiast, says that in their narrower signification the five nikāyas denoted the five divisions of the texts of the Suttapiṭaka, and that in their wider signification the five nikāyas included also the texts of the remaining two piṭakas, namely, the Vinaya and the Abhidhamma, the Vinaya and Abhidhamma treatises being supposed to be included in the Khuddaka Nikāya (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, pt. 1, p. 23, cf. Atthasālinī, p. 26 ; Katamo Khuddakanikāyo ? Sakalaṁ Vinayapiṭakaṁ Abhidhammapiṭakaṁ Khuddakapāṭhā-dayo ca pubbe-nidassita-pañcadasa-bhedā (pubbe dassita-cuddasappabhedā iti pāṭhantaraṁ), ṭhapetvā cattāro nikāye avasesa-buddhavacanaṁ). Buddhaghosa also informs us that the Anumāna-sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya was known to the ancients as bhikkhuvinaya and the Siṅgālovāda-sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya was venerated as gihivinaya.[1] If such terms as bhikkhuvinaya and gihivinaya had been current among the Buddhists of olden times, it is pertinent to enquire whether the expression "the two-fold Vinaya" was originally used to denote the *bhikkhuvinaya* and *bhikkhunīvinaya* or the bhikkhuvinaya and *gihivinaya*.

If we examine the contents of the Aṅguttara or the Ekuttara Nikāya, we need not be surprised

[1] A note on the Bhābrā Edict, J.R.A.S., October, 1915, pp. 805–810.

to find that Aṅguttara Nikāya abounds in the Vinaya passages. In each nipāta of this nikāya we come across passages relating to the two-fold Vinaya, namely, the Bhikkhu and the Gihi. Looked at from this point of view, the Aṅguttara Nikāya may justly be regarded as a sutta store-house of distinct Vinaya tracts. In this very nikāya we hit upon a Vinaya tract (A.N., I, pp. 98–100) which sets forth a rough sketch (mātikā) not of any particular Vinaya treatise but of the whole of the Vinaya-piṭaka. The list of Vinaya topics furnished in this particular tract cannot be construed as a table of contents of any particular text of the Vinaya-piṭaka. Similar Vinaya tracts are scattered also in the suttas of other nikāyas. The consideration of all these facts cannot but lead one to surmise that the treatises of the Vinayapiṭaka point to a sutta background in the Vinaya materials traceable in the nikāyas particularly in the Aṅguttara. The sutta background of the Vinaya texts is clearly hinted at in the concluding words of the Pātimokkha. "So much of the words of the Blessed One handed down in the suttas, embraced in the suttas, comes into recitation every half month" (Vinaya texts, S.B.E., Vol. I, p. 69).

As for the date of the composition of the two Pātimokkha codes, one for the bhikkhus (monks) and the other for the bhikkhuṇīs (nuns), it is important to bear in mind that according to an ancient Buddhist tradition cited by Buddhaghosa, the Pātimokkha codes as they are handed down to us are two among the Vinaya texts which were not rehearsed in the First Buddhist Council (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, pt. I, p. 17). It may be readily granted that the codification of the Pātimokkha rules in the extant shape was not accomplished immediately after the demise of the Buddha. It is one thing to say this and it is quite another that the rules themselves in a classified form had not been in existence from the earliest times. The Cullavagga account of the First Buddhist Council throws

some clear light on the process of codification. It is said that the utterance of the dying Buddha authorising his followers to do away with the minor rules of conduct (khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadani) if they so desired, formed a bone of contention among the bhikkhus who took part in the proceedings of the First Buddhist Council (see Milinda Pañha, pp. 142–144). They were unable to decide which were precisely the minor rules they were authorised to dispense with. Some suggested all but the four Pārājikā rules; some, all but the four Pārājikā and 13 Saṁghādisesa rules; some, all but the four Pārājikā, 13 Saṁghādisesa and two Aniyata rules; some, all but the four Pārājikās, 13 Saṁghādisesas, two Aniyatas and 30 Nissaggiyas; some, all but the four Pārājikā, 13 Saṁghādisesa, two Aniyata, 30 Nissaggiya and 92 Pācittiya rules; and some, all but four Pārājikā, 13 Saṁghādisesa, two Aniyata, 30 Nissaggiya, 92 Pācittiya and four Paṭidesaniya rules.[1] The suggestion stopped with the four Paṭidesaniya rules and did not proceed beyond them, leaving us in the dark as to what the bhikkhus meant by "all but all these" (counted by names). The Pātimokkha code in its final form included two hundred and twenty-seven rules, that is to say, the seven *adhikaraṇasamathas* and seventy-five Sekhiya rules in addition to those mentioned in the

[1] Ekacce therā evaṁ āhaṁsu: cattāri pārājikāni ṭhapetvā avasesāni khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadānīti. Ekacce therā evaṁ āhaṁsu: cattāri pārājikāni ṭhapetvā terasa saṁghādisese ṭhapetvā avasesāni khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadānīti. Ekacce therā evam āhaṁsu: cattāri pārājikāni ṭhapetvā terasa saṁghādisese ṭhapetvā dve aniyate ṭhapetvā avasesāni khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadānīti. Ekacce therā evam āhaṁsu: cattāri pārājikāni ṭhapetvā terasa saṁghādisese ṭhapetvā dve aniyate ṭhapetvā tiṁsa nissaggiye pācittiye ṭhapetvā avasesāni khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadānīti. Ekacce therā evam āhaṁsu: cattāri pārājikāni ṭhapetvā terasa saṁghādisese ṭhapetvā dve aniyate ṭhapetvā tiṁsa nissaggiye pācittiye ṭhapetvā dvenavutiṁ pācittiye ṭhapetvā avasesāni khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadānīti. Ekacce therā evaṁ āhaṁsu: cattāri pārājikāni ṭhapetvā terasa saṁghādisese ṭhapetvā dve aniyate ṭhapetvā tiṁsa nissaggiye pācittiye ṭhapetvā dvenavutiṁ pācittiye ṭh. cattāri pāṭidesaniye ṭh. avasesāni khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadānīti (Cullavagga, Chap. XI, pp. 287-288).

Cullavagga account. Omitting the 75 Sekhiya rules the total of the Pātimokkha precepts of conduct would come up to 152. If the theras of the First Buddhist Council had in their view a Pātimokkha code in which the 75 Sekhiya rules had no place, the total of precepts in the Code recognised by them was 152. Now we have to enquire if there is any definite literary evidence to prove that in an earlier stage of codification, the total of the Pātimokkha precepts was fixed at 152. Happily the evidence is not far to seek. The Aṅguttara Nikāya, as we have seen above, contains two passages to indicate that the earlier Pātimokkha code contained one and half hundred rules or little more (Sādhikaṁ diyaḍḍhasikkhāpadasataṁ).[1]

The earlier Pātimokkha code with its total of 152 rules may be shown to have been earlier than the Suttavibhaṅga on the ground that the Suttavibhaṅga scheme makes room for the 75 Sekhiya rules, thereby recognising the Pātimokkha total to be 227 which was possible only in the second or final stage of codification of the Pātimokkha rules.

In dealing with the chronology of the seven treatises of the Abhidhammapiṭaka, we can only maintain that the order in which these treatises are enumerated can be interpreted as the order of the chronology. Any attempt at establishing such an interpretation would be vitiated by the fact that the order of enumeration is not in all cases the same. The order in which these are mentioned in the Milinda Pañha (p. 12) and which has since become classical is as follows :—

1. Dhammasaṅgaṇi—(Dhammasaṁgaha as Buddhaghosa calls it—*vide* Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, p. 17), 2. Vibhaṅga, 3. Dhātukathā, 4. Puggalapaññatti, 5. Kathāvatthu, 6. Yamaka, and 7. Paṭṭhāna.

[1] Cf. Milinda Pañha which refers to the same total of the Pātimokkha rules in the expression " Diyaḍḍhesu sikkhāpada-satesu ".

A somewhat different order is evident from a gāthā occurring in Buddhaghosa's Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, pt. I, p. 15. "Dhammasaṅgaṇi-Vibhaṅgañ ca Kathāvatthuñ ca Puggalaṁ Dhātu-Yamaka—Paṭṭhānaṁ Abhidhammo ti vuccati."

It will be noticed that in the gāthā order the Kathāvatthu stands third instead of fifth and the Dhātukathā stands fifth instead of third.[1] We have already noted that according to general interpretation of the five nikāya divisions of the Pāli Canon, the Abhidhamma treatises come under the Khuddaka Nikāya. This is apparently an anomaly which cannot be removed save by a liberal interpretation making it signify a suttanta background of the Abhidhammapiṭaka. Thus an enquiry into the suttanta background becomes a desideratum and we may lay down a general canon of chronology in these terms. The closer the connection with the sutta materials, the earlier is the date of composition. Among the seven Abhidhamma treatises, the Puggalapaññatti and the Vibhaṅga stand out prominently as the two texts which bear a clear evidence of emergence from a sutta background. The Puggala classifications in the Dīgha, Saṁyutta, and Aṅguttara Nikāyas are seen to constitute at once the sutta background and the stereotyped Vibhaṅgas or Niddesas, mostly contained in the Majjhima Nikāya, may be taken to represent the sutta background of the Vibhaṅga. The exact position of the Puggalapaññatti in relation to the suttanta collections may be brought home in the light of the following observations of Dr. Morris: "As to the materials made use of by the compiler of the Puggalapaññatti, we can speak somewhat more positively. We have found nearly the whole of the third, fourth, and fifth sections of our text (tayo puggalā, cattāro puggalā, pañca puggalā) in the corresponding sections (tika nipāta, catukka nipāta, etc.) of the Aṅguttara Nikāya,

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[1] This may, however, be explained simply as due to *metre causa.*

including the long passage entitled *Yodhājīvūpamā puggalā.*

I need hardly say anything of the other sections, as they are mere repetitions; the cha puggalā goes partly over the same ground as the Ekakaṁ. Nos. 28 and 29 of the aṭṭha puggalā have already been noticed as occurring in the Saṅgīti-sutta, while the nava puggalā is a repetition of I, 28–36, and dasa puggalā refers to I, 37–46 of our text.

For the sake of comparison it may be stated that IV, No. 15 (Mātikā) is to be found in the Aṅguttara Nikāya, duka nipāta, XII, II; and IV, Nos. 1, 2, 3 occur in the Saṁyutta Nikāya, while IV, 29 is to be found in the Saṅgīti-sutta.

Nos. 23, 24, and 25, pt. 1, of the Puggalapaññatti seem to be curiously out of place, as we naturally expect them to be amongst the tayo puggalā. The Saṅgīti-sutta names them under the tisso paññā.

Nos. 42–46, pt. 1, are mentioned without explanation in the Saṅgīti-sutta as the *pañca anāgāmino.* The only terms in pt. 1 that I have not come across are Nos. 1–8, 10–14, 19, 20, 37, 38, and 39.

The designations in pt. II, Nos. 21, 22, 23, 24, and 26 are in the Aṅguttara Nikāya, duka nipāta, XI, 2, 4, and 5; 11-12. As to the remainder of the dve puggalā, the terms themselves are to be found under a slightly different form in the Saṅgīti-sutta and Aṅguttara Nikāya" (Puggalapaññatti, P.T.S., Introduction, pp. x-xi).

We have just one remark to add, namely, that compared with the suttanta materials utilised in it, the Puggalapaññatti is the least original treatise of the Abhidhammapiṭaka and its inclusion in the Abhidhammapiṭaka would have been utterly unjustifiable but for the Paññatti classifications in the mātikā, No. 1. Whatever the actual date of its compilation in respect of subject-matter and treatment, it deserves to be considered as the earliest of the Abhidhamma books.

In the opinion of Mrs. Rhys Davids, the Vibhaṅga is "anticipated" by the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, although "it is by no means covered by the latter *work, either in method or in matter*" (*Vibhaṅga*, P.T.S., Preface, XIV). In other words, the present book (the Vibhaṅga) seems by Buddhists to have ranked second in the seven of its piṭakas not accidentally, but as a sequel to the Dhammasaṅgaṇi requiring in those who came to the study of it, a familiarity with the categories and formulas of the latter work—that is, with the first book of the Abhidhamma" (Ibid., XIII). Thus whether the Vibhaṅga is anticipated by the Dhammasaṅgaṇi or the latter is anticipated by the former is the point at issue.

Examining most of the chapters of the Vibhaṅga we find that each of them has a Abhidhamma superstructure (Abhidhammabhājaniya) built upon and kept distinct from a suttanta exegesis (Suttantabhājaniya), the counterpart of which is to be found in the first four nikāyas and mostly in the Majjhima, as it will appear from the following table:—Saccavibhaṅga (Suttantabhājaniya) = Saccavibhaṅga Sutta (Majjhima, Vol. III, No. 141); Satipaṭṭhānavibhaṅga (Suttantabhājaniya) = Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta (M.N., I., No. 10); Dhātuvibhaṅga (Suttantabhājaniya) = Dhātuvibhaṅga Sutta of the Majjhima, Vol. III, No. 140. It is evident from the juxtaposition of the suttanta and the Abhidhamma exegesis in its different chapters that the Vibhaṅga marks that stage of the development of the Abhidhammapiṭaka when the Abhidhamma or Transcendental method of exegesis had not yet gained an independent foothold; when, in other words, it remained combined with the suttanta or earlier method. The predilection is as yet for attempting the exegesis of the formulations in the suttas. An independent treatment of pure topics of Psychological ethics, such as we find in the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, is far beyond the scheme of the Vibhaṅga. In the progressive working out of exe-

tion of meanings of terms *comes second to the* *uddesa* or *mātikā*. Now, if we compare the treatment of the *Rūpakkhandha in the Vibhaṅga (12–14)* with that in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi (pp. 124 foll.)*, we cannot but observe that all that the Vibhaṅga has to present is merely the *uddesa* or *mātikā* of the Rūpakkhandha section of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi. The Niddesa of the rūpamātikā is to be found in no other Abhidhamma books than the Dhammasaṅgaṇi. Mrs. Rhys Davids admits (in a way arguing in our favour) that "the contents of the Vibhaṅga are by no means covered by the Dhammasaṅgaṇi". The Vibhaṅga has, for instance, a section entitled Paccayākāravibhaṅga, an exegesis on the casual relations. The paccayas[1] fall outside the scope of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi and they form the subject-matter of the great Abhidhamma treatise, the Paṭṭhāna or the Mahāpaṭṭhāna, though compared with the Paṭṭhāna, the Vibhaṅga treatment of the subject is crude and vague, which is to say earlier. Considered in this light, the Vibhaṅga seems to stand out as a common presupposition of both the Dhammasaṅgaṇi and the Paṭṭhāna. It is much easier to proceed from the contents of the Vibhaṅga to the two highly systematic treatises of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi and the Paṭṭhāna than to proceed from the latter to the former. The Dhātukathā being nothing but a supplement to the text of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi may be briefly disposed of as an Abhidhamma treatise dependent on and necessarily later than the Dhammasaṅgaṇi.

[1] Paccaya means a condition, cause, support, requisite stay, means, causal antecedent, mode of relation, etc. Here it refers to the twenty-four modes of relations (paccayas) between things which are so many paṭṭhānas. They are enumerated in the Paccayavibhaṅgavāra of the Ṭikapaṭṭhāna, pt. 1. The entire paṭṭhāna is devoted first to an enquiry into these twenty-four ways in which x is paccaya to y, secondly into illustrating how in things material or mental each kind of paccaya and groups of paccayas originate.

It is not only with regard to the Dhammasaṅgaṇi (with its supplement, the Dhātukathā) and the Paṭṭhāna that the Vibhaṅga represents the immediate background; it appears equally to have been the background of the Yamaka. It is easy to account for the dialectical method of the study of the Abhidhamma matters adopted in the Pañhapucchakas appended to the different chapters of the Vibhaṅga. All these considerations lead us to conclude that, strictly speaking, the Vibhaṅga, making "an extended application of (the) organum or vehicle for the cultivation of the moral intellect" is the first and earliest of the Abhidhamma books.

1. Puggalapaññatti
2. Vibhaṅga .. { (*a*) Dhammasaṅgaṇi-Dhātukathā; (*b*) Yamaka; (*c*) Paṭṭhāna }
3. Kathāvatthu

Although one can conceive in this manner the chronological succession of the five Abhidhamma books (leaving out the Puggalapaññatti which is rather a suttanta text and the Kathāvatthu which forms a class by itself), it is difficult to determine the actual dates of their composition. One thing is certain that all the seven books of the Abhidhammapiṭaka were well known and very carefully read especially in the Himālayan monastery when the Milinda Pañha was composed in about the 1st century A.D. There is no reason for doubt that the Pāli Canon when committed to writing during the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi in Ceylon, it included all these books in it. We have shown that when the uddānagāthās of the Cullavagga (Chapter II) of the Vinayapiṭaka were added, the three piṭakas of the Pāli Canon had already come into existence. The question, however, is how far the date of the books of the Abhidhammapiṭaka can be pushed back. Here the only anchor sheet is the Kathāvatthu, the third or the fifth Abhidhamma

book which, according to tradition, was a compilation of the Aśokan age. We have already adduced certain proofs in support of this tradition and have sought to show that when certain controversies which find a place in the Kathāvatthu took place, Buddhism as a religion had not overstepped the territorial limits of the Middle Country. But according to Buddhaghosa's commentary, the Kathāvatthu contains discussions of doctrines held by some of the Buddhist schools, e.g. the Hemavata, the Uttarāpathaka, the Vājiriya, the Vetullaka, the Andhaka, the Pubbaseliya, and the Aparaseliya, which could not be possible if the Kathāvatthu had been closed in the time of Aśoka. If it was a growing compilation, we have necessarily to suppose that although it commenced in Aśokan time, it was not brought to a close till the rise of the later Buddhist schools mentioned above.

Turning at last to the Suttapiṭaka comprising the five nikāyas, we can definitely say that it had reached its final shape before the composition of the Milinda Pañha in which authoritative passages are quoted from the texts of this piṭaka, in certain instances by mention of the name of the sources. We can go further and maintain that the Suttapiṭaka was closed along with the entire Pāli Canon and when the canon was finally rehearsed in Ceylon and committed to writing during the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. The tradition says that previous to the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi the texts were handed down by an oral tradition (*mukhapāṭhavasena*) from teacher to teacher (*ācariya-paramparāya*), the process of transmission being compared to the carrying of earth in baskets from head to head. Buddhaghosa says (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, pt. I, pp. 12 foll.) that immediately after the demise of the Buddha and after the session of the First Buddhist Council, the task of transmitting and preserving each of the five nikāyas was entrusted to an individual thera and his followers, which ultimately gave rise to some schools of *bhāṇakas* or chanters.

The existence of the distinct schools of reciters of the five nikāyas is clearly proved (as shown by Dr. B. M. Barua[1]) by the Milinda-Pañha where, we have mention of the Jātakabhāṇaka (the repeaters of the Jātakas) in addition to the Dīghabhāṇaka, the Majjhimabhāṇaka, the Saṁyuttabhāṇaka, the Aṅguttarabhāṇaka and the Khuddakabhāṇaka.[2] The terms 'pañcanekāyika' (one well versed in the five nikāyas) and bhāṇaka as well, occur as distinctive epithets of some of the Buddhist donors in the Sāñci and Bārhut inscriptions which may be dated in the lump in the middle of the second century B.C. The inference from the evidence of these inscriptions has already been drawn by Prof. Rhys Davids to the effect that before the use of Pañcanekāyika (one who knows the five nikāyas by heart), Suttantika (a man who knows a suttanta by heart), Suttantakinī (a feminine form of Suttantika) and Peṭaki (one who knows the piṭaka by heart) as distinctive epithets, the piṭaka and five nikāya divisions of the Pāli Canon must have been well known and well established. We say "of the Pāli Canon" because substitution of nikāya for the term 'āgama' is peculiar to the Pāli tradition. The term "Pañcanikāya" occurs as we saw also in the Vinaya Cullavagga (Chapter II) which we have assigned to a period which immediately preceded the Aśokan age. But even presuming that the five nikāya divisions of the growing Buddhist Canon were current in the third century B.C., it does not necessarily follow from it that all the books or suttas or individual passages comprising the five nikāyas were composed at that time. All that we can say "that the first four nikāyas were, to all intents and purposes, then complete, while the Khuddaka Nikāya series remained still open".

We have pointed out that this account in the

[1] Bārhut Inscriptions, pp. 9-10.
[2] Milinda Pañha, pp. 341 foll.

Vinaya Cullavagga clearly alludes to the Dīgha as the first of the five nikāyas as well as that the first two suttas were the Brahmajāla and Sāmaññaphala, while as to the number and succession of the remaining suttas, we are kept completely in the dark. Straining the information supplied in the Vinaya Cullavagga we can proceed so far, no doubt, that the first volume of the Dīgha Nikāya was mainly in the view of its compilers. Comparing the suttas comprised in the remaining two volumes and marking the differences in theme and tone, it seems that these two volumes were later additions. The second volume contains two suttas, namely, the Mahāpadhāna and Mahāgovinda which have been mentioned in the Cullaniddesa (p. 80) as two among the notable illustrations of the suttanta Jātakas, the Jātakas as found in the earliest forms in Pāli literature. We have already drawn attention to the earlier chronicles of the seven purohitas in the Aṅguttara Nikāya where it is far from being a manipulation in a Jātaka form. The casting of this chronicle in a Jātaka mould as we find it in the Mahagovinda Suttanta could not have taken place in the lifetime of the Buddha. The second volume contains also the Pāyāsi Suttanta,[1] which, as shown by the previous scholars, brings the story of Pāyāsi to the death of Pāyāsi and his after-life in a gloomy

[1] The belief in a life after death, in Heaven and Hell, consequent upon the commission of good or evil deeds was current long before the advent of the Buddha. This belief was, however, assailed by Ajita Kesakambalī, one of the six heretical teachers who were rivals of the Buddha. According to Ajita Kesakambalī there is neither fruit nor result of good or evil deeds, and fools and wise alike, on the dissolution of the body, are cut off, annihilated, after death they are not. The further development of the teaching of Ajita Kesakambalī can be traced in the views of Pāyāsi, the chieftain of Setavya in Kosala, who came to the field, according to Buddhist evidence immediately after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha. It is Pāyāsi (Jain Paesi) who discussed the practical issues and supplied the logical arguments of Ajita's philosophy (atheism). Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. 1, p. 55; Heaven and Hell—Appendix by B. M. Barua, p. iii.

heaven. This suttanta contains several anecdotes forming the historical basis of some of the Jātaka stories. In the face of all these facts we cannot but agree with Prof. Rhys Davids who places the date of this suttanta at least half a century after the demise of the Buddha. The third volume of the Dīgha includes in it the Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta which is otherwise described as a *rakkhā* or saving chant manipulated apparently on a certain passage in the then known Mahābhārata.[1] The development of these elements, the Jātaka stories and the Parittas, could not have taken place when Buddhism remained in its pristine purity. These are later accretions or interpretations, the works of fable and fiction, we mean of imaginative poetry that crept, according to a warning given in certain passages of the Aṅguttara Nikāya, under influence from outside. But there is no reason for surprise that such developments had already taken place as early as the fourth century B.C., for the passages that strike the note of alarm are precisely one of those seven important tracts recommended by Aśoka in his Bhābrū Edict under the caption 'Anāgatabhayāni'. The growth of these foreign elements must have caused some sort of confusion otherwise it would not have been necessary to discuss in a sutta of the Saṁyutta Nikāya the reasonable way of keeping genuine the utterances of the Buddha distinct from others that crept in under the outside influence and were characterised by poetical fancies and embellishments (kavikatā) (Saṁyutta Nikāya, pt. II, p. 267). We may, then, be justified in assigning the whole of the Dīgha Nikāya to a pre-Aśokan age, there being no trace of any historical event or development which might have happened after King Aśoka. The only exception that one has to make is in the case of the concluding verses of the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta which were interpolated, according

[1] Aśvalāyana Grihya Sūtra, III, 4, 4.

to Buddhaghosa, in Ceylon by the teachers of that island. Like the first volume of the Dīgha Nikāya, the whole of the Majjhima Nikāya strikes us as the most authoritative and original among the collections of the Buddha's teachings. There is no allusion to any political event to justify us in relegating the date of its compilation to a time far removed from the demise of the Buddha. If it be argued that the story of Makhādeva, as we find it embodied in the Makhādeva Sutta of this nikāya, has already assumed the form of a Jātaka, of a suttanta Jātaka, mentioned in the Cullaniddesa, it cannot follow from it that the nikāya is for that very reason a much later compilation. For the Makhādeva story is one of those few earliest Jātakas presupposed by the Pāli Canonical collection of 500 Jātakas. The literary developments as may be traced in the suttas of the Majjhima Nikāya are not of such a kind as to require more than a century after the demise of the Buddha.

Now concerning the Saṁyutta which is a collection of kindred sayings and the third of the five nikāyas, we may point out that it has been quoted by name in the Milinda Pañha, as also in the Peṭakopadesa under the simple title of Saṁyuttaka, and that as such this nikāya had existed as an authoritative book of the Pāli Canon previous to the composition of both the Milinda Pañha and the Peṭakopadesa. We can go so far as to maintain that the Saṁyutta Nikāya had reached its final shape previous to the occurrence of Pañcanekāyika as a personal epithet in some of the Bārhut and Sāñci inscriptions, nay, even before the closing of the Vinaya Cullavagga where we meet with the expression "Pañcanikāya". In dealing with the account of the Second Buddhist Council in the Vinaya Cullavagga (Ch. XIII), we have noted that a canonical authority has been alluded to as Rājagahe uposatha Saṁyutte "at Rājagaha in the Uposatha-Saṁyutta". The translators of the Vinaya texts (pt. III, p. 410) observe that the term

"Saṁyutta must here be used for Khandhaka", the passage referred to being the Vinaya Mahāvagga (II, 8, 3, the Uposatha Khandhaka). But looking into the Mahāvagga passage, we find that it does not fully tally with the allusion, as the passage has nothing to do with Rājagaha. In the absence of Rājagaha giving a true clue to the tracing of the intended passage, it is difficult to premise that the passage which the compilers of the Cullavagga account kept in view was the Khandhaka passage in the Vinaya Mahāvagga. Although we have so far failed to trace this passage also in the Saṁyutta Nikāya, the presumption ought to be that the intended passage was included in a Saṁyutta collection which was then known to the compilers of the Cullavagga. The suttas in the Saṁyutta Nikāya do not refer to any political incident justifying one to place the date of its compilation far beyond the demise of the Buddha. As contrasted with the Ekuttara or Aṅguttara Nikāya the Saṁyutta appears to be the result of an attempt to put together relevant passages throwing light on the topics of deeper doctrinal importance while the former appears to be numerical groupings of relevant passages throwing light on the topics relating to the conduct of the monks and householders. Considered in this light, these two nikāyas must be regarded as fruits of a critical study of suttas in some previous collections.

Now coming to deal with the Ekuttara or Aṅguttara Nikāya, we have sought to show that its main bearing is on the two-fold Vinaya, the Gahapati Vinaya and the Bhikkhu Vinaya. This nikāya contains a section (Muṇḍarājavagga in the Pañcaka Nipāta) commemorating the name of King Muṇḍa who reigned, as shown by Rhys Davids, in Rājagaha about half a century after the demise of the Buddha. The nikāya containing a clear reference to Muṇḍarāja cannot be regarded as a compilation made within the fifty years from the Buddha's demise. There is, however, no other historical

reference to carry the date of its compilation beyond the first century from the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha. The date proposed for the Aṅguttara Nikāya will not, we think, appear unreasonable if it be admitted that the suttas of this nikāya form the real historical background of the contents of the Vinaya texts.

We have at last to discuss the chronology of the fifteen books of the Khuddaka Nikāya, which are generally mentioned in the following order :—

1. Khuddakapāṭha,
2. Dhammapada,
3. Udāna,
4. Itivuttaka,
5. Sutta Nipāta,
6. Vimānavatthu,
7. Petavatthu,
8. Theragāthā,
9. Therīgāthā,
10. Jātaka,
11. Niddesa (Culla and Mahā),
12. Paṭisambhidāmagga,
13. Apadāna,
14. Buddhavaṁsa,
15. Cariyāpiṭaka.

This mode of enumeration of the fifteen books of the Khuddaka Nikāya (paṇṇarasabheda Khuddakanikāya) can be traced back to the days of Buddhaghosa (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, pt. I, p. 17). It is obvious that in this list the Cullaniddesa and the Mahāniddesa are counted as one book; while counting them as two books, the total number becomes sixteen. There is no justification for regarding the order of enumeration as being the order of chronology. In connection with the Khuddaka Nikāya, Buddhaghosa mentions the following fact of great historical importance. He says that the Dīghabhāṇakas classified the books of the Khuddaka Nikāya under the Abhidhammapiṭaka enumerating them in the following order :—

1. Jātaka,
2. Mahāniddesa,
3. Cullaniddesa,
4. Paṭisambhidāmagga,
5. Sutta Nipāta,
6. Dhammapada,
7. Udāna,
8. Itivuttaka,
9. Vimānavatthu,
10. Petavatthu,
11. Therīgāthā,

and leaving out of consideration the four books, namely, the Cariyāpiṭaka, the Apadāna, the Buddhavaṁsa and the Khuddakapāṭha. Buddhaghosa informs us that the Majjhimabhāṇaka list contained the names of 15 books, counting the Cariyāpiṭaka, the Apadāna and the Buddhavaṁsa as the three books in addition to those recognised by the Dīgha bhāṇakas (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, pt. I, p. 15). It is important to note that the Majjhimabhāṇaka list has taken no cognisance of the Khuddakapāṭha mentioned as the first book in Buddhaghosa's own list. It is not difficult to surmise that when the Dīghabhāṇaka list was drawn up, the Khuddaka Nikāya comprised just 12 books and when the Majjhima Nikāya list was made, it came to comprise altogether 15 books, the Mahāniddesa and the Cullaniddesa having been counted as two books instead of as one. It is also easy to understand that from that time onward the traditional total of the books of the Khuddaka Nikāya became known as fifteen, and so strong was this tradition that to harmonise with it the sixteen books had to be somehow counted as fifteen, the Mahāniddesa and the Cullaniddesa being treated as a single book. From this we may proceed to show that the Khuddakapāṭha appearing as the first book of the Khuddaka Nikāya in Buddhaghosa's list is really the last book taken into the Khuddaka Nikāya sometime after the Majjhimabhāṇaka list recognising fifteen books in all had been closed. We need not be surprised if the Khuddakapāṭha was a compilation made in Ceylon and was given a place among the books of the Khuddaka Nikāya either immediately before the commitment of the Pāli Canon to writing during the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi or even after that, although before the time of Buddhaghosa. The commentaries of Buddhaghosa are our oldest authorities that mention the Khuddakapāṭha as a canonical book. It does not find mention in the Milinda Pañha nor in any other work, canonical or ex-canonical, which was extant before the time

of Buddhaghosa. The text is made up of nine lessons or short reading all culled from certain earlier canonical sources, the arrangement of these lessons being such as to make it serve as a very useful handbook for the beginners and for the clergy ministering to the needs of the laity. The consideration of two points may suffice to bear out our contention: the first point is that the first lesson called the Saraṇattaya presents a developed mode of refuge formula of the Buddhists which is not to be found precisely in this form anywhere in other portions of the Pāli Canon. As for the second point we may note that the third lesson called the Dvattiṁsākāra (the thirty-two parts of the body) enumerates *matthake matthaluṅgaṁ* which is not to be found in the list furnished in the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya, the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya, and numerous other discourses.

We have seen that the Buddhavaṁsa, the Cariyāpiṭaka, and the Apadāna are the three books which found recognition in the list of the Majjhima-bhāṇakas and were taken no notice of in the Dīghabhāṇaka list. Apart from other arguments, one has to presume that these three books were compiled and received into the canon after the list was once known to have been complete with twelve books. These three books, so far as the subject-matters go, are interconnected, the Buddha-vaṁsa enumerating the doctrine of *praṇidhāna* as an essential condition of the Bodhisatta life, the Cariyāpiṭaka enumerating the doctrine of *cariyā* or practices of a Bodhisatta and the Apadāna, the doctrine of adhikāra or competence for the attainment of higher life. These three books presuppose a legend of 24 previous Buddhas which is far in excess of the legend of six Buddhas contained in other portions of the canon. The Buddhavaṁsa and the Cariyāpiṭaka present a systematic form of the Bodhisatta idea that was shaping itself through the earlier Jātakas and the Apadāna furnishing

the previous birth-stories of the *theras* and the *therīs* cannot but be regarded as a later supplement to the Thera-Therī-gāthā.

Besides the Thera-Therī-gāthā, the Vimānavatthu or the book of stories of heaven is just another canonical work which is presupposed by the Apadāna. It is important to note that the Vimānavatthu contains one story, namely, the story of Serissaka, the incident of which, according to the story itself, took place a hundred years, calculated by human computation, from the death of the chieftain Pāyāsi.

" Mānussakaṁ vassasataṁ atītaṁ
Yadagge kāyamhi idhūpappanno."
(Vimānavatthu, P.T.S., p. 81.)

The Pāyāsi Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya clearly shows that the death of Pāyāsi could not have been taken place until a few years after the Buddha's demise. Thus going by the consideration of this point, we are compelled to assign the date of its composition to an age ahead of a century and a half from the demise of the Buddha. So the canonisation of this book could not have taken place earlier than the time of the Third Buddhist Council, we mean the time of King Aśoka. Our suggestion for the date of the Vimānavatthu will be significant as we consider the contents of the Petavatthu, the book of stories of hell. We have noticed above that in all the three lists of the books of the Khuddaka Nikāya, the name of the Petavatthu stands after that of the Vimānavatthu. From the occurrence of certain common stories a suggestion has already been made that it was somehow an offshoot of the Vimānavatthu. Now in one of the stories (Petavatthu, IV. 3, 1)[1], we have allusions to the Moriya (Maurya) king, who

[1] " Rājā Piṅgalako nāma Suraṭṭhānaṁ adhipati ahu Moriyānaṁ upaṭṭhānaṁ gantvā Suraṭṭham punar āgamā."

is identified in the commentary with King Aśoka.[1] If this construction of the word Moriya is correct, it leaves no room for doubt that the Petavatthu, as we now have it, was a post-Moriyan or post-Aśokan compilation. Again in the Mahāvaṁsa the Petavatthu is also mentioned by name. Mahinda in his second discourse to the women of Devānaṁpiyatissa's household, preached the Petavatthu, the Vimānavatthu and the Sacca-Saṁyutta, and the women attained to the first stage of sanctification.[2]

The Cullaniddesa is a canonical commentary on the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta and the Pārāyaṇa group of sixteen poems, all of which find place in the anthology called the Sutta Nipāta. We have sought to show that the Cullaniddesa indicates a stage of development of the Pāli Canon when the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta hangs on the Pārāyaṇavagga as an isolated poem, without yet being included in a distinct group such as the Uragavagga of the Sutta Nipāta. Though from this line of argument it follows that the Cullaniddesa is earlier than the Sutta Nipāta, it cannot at the same time be denied that it is posterior not only to such suttanta Jātakas as the Mahāpadāniya, Mahāgovinda, Mahāsudassanīya and the Maghādeva Suttanta contained in the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas but also to a collection of 500 Jātakas (Pañcajātakasatāni) (Cullaniddesa, p. 80). As such the Cullaniddesa cannot be dated much earlier than the reign of Aśoka.

The Mahāniddesa, too, is a canonical commentary on the Aṭṭhaka group of sixteen poems forming the fourth book of the Sutta Nipāta. As shown before, the exegeses attempted in this book were all modelled on an earlier exegesis of Mahā-

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[1] " Moriyānan'ti Moriyarājūnaṁ Dhammāsokaṁ saṁdhāya vadati "—Petavatthu, P.T.S., p. 98.

[2] " Petavatthuṁ Vimānaṁ ca saccasaṁyuttaṁ eva ca desesi thero, tā itthī Paṭhamaṁ phalam ajjhaguṁ "—Mahāvaṁsa, p. 108 (P.T.S).

kaccāna in the Saṁyutta Nikāya. If this canonical commentary came into existence when the Aṭṭhakavagga was yet current as an isolated group, the date of its composition cannot but be anterior to that of the Sutta Nipāta. A clear idea of the date of this work can be formed from its list[1] of places visited by the Indian sea-going merchants. The Mahāniddesa list clearly points to a time when the Indian merchants carried on a sea-borne trade with such distant places as Java in the east and Paramayona in the west and it alludes as well to a sea route from Tamali to Java via Tambapaṇṇi or Ceylon which was followed in the fifth century A.D., by the Chinese pilgrim, Fā-Hien. We can expect to come across such a list only in the Milinda Pañha which may be dated in the first and second centuries A.D. Such a wide expansion of India's maritime trade as indicated in the Mahāniddesa list would seem impossible if the book was a composition much earlier than the second century B.C.

Now turning to the Sutta Nipāta we have been inclined to place it later than the two books of the Niddesa on the ground that when it was compiled, the Aṭṭhakavagga and the Pārāyaṇavagga came to represent two distinct books of a comprehensive anthology and the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta ceased to be a stray poem hanging for its existence on the Pārāyaṇa group. But our main reason for dating it posterior to the Cullaniddesa is that the Pārāyaṇavagga in the Sutta Nipāta is prefaced by a prologue which is absent from the Cullaniddesa scheme. Similarly the Nālaka Sutta perhaps known originally as Moneyya Sutta as evidenced by the titles suggested in Aśoka's Bhābrū Edict as a prologue clearly anticipating the poetical style of Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita. In spite of the fact that the suttas embodied in it were gleaned from earlier collections, the Sutta Nipāta scheme of anthology does not seem to have been carried into effect before the second century B.C.

With regard to the Jātakas as a book of the Khuddaka Nikāya, we have just seen above that the Cullaniddesa points to a canonical collection of 500 Jātakas. That five hundred was the original total of the Jātakas is proved on the one hand by the 500 Jātaka representations witnessed by Fā-Hien round the Abhayagiri monastery of Ceylon and on the other hand by the mechanical multiplication of the stories in order to raise the total from 500 to 550 from the days of Buddhaghosa. The Milinda Pañha alludes to the existence of the repeaters of the Jātakas apart from the repeaters of the five nikāyas. We are unable to decide whether the Milinda reference is to the canonical books of the Jātakas or to a commentary collection which was then in existence. The numerous illustrations of the Jātakas on the ancient Buddhist railings, such as those at Bārhut and Bodhgayā, unmistakably presuppose the existence of the legendary stories of the Buddha's life, past and present. But the canonical collection of 500 Jātakas referred to in the Cullaniddesa appear to be earlier than the scriptural basis of the Buddhist sculptures, and whatever the actual date of composition might be, it was certainly later than that of the suttanta Jātakas scattered throughout the first four nikāyas. We may say indeed that the canonical collection took a definite shape near about the early Maurya period.

The Thera-Therī-gāthā are two companion anthologies of the stanzas that are supposed to have been uttered by the theras and therīs surrounding the Buddha during the lifetime of the Master, or at least shortly after his death (Theragāthā, Oldenberg's preface, xi).

" The separate uddānas or indices which occur regularly at the end of each nipāta and at the end also of the whole work, and give the names and numbers of the theras (and the therīs) and the number of verses in each chapter and in the whole work respectively, seem to be based on a recension

or condition of the text different from that which now lies before us" (Ibid., p. xiv). In the opinion of Dhammapāla, the commentator, the Theragāthā anthology had reached the final shape not earlier than the time of Aśoka. He points out that the Thera Tekicchakāri whose gāthās are embodied in the Theragāthā lived under King Bimbisāra, the father of Dhammāsoka. He further adds that the verses uttered by this thera were received into the canon by the fathers who assembled in the Third Buddhist Council. Dhammapāla attributes some of the gāthās to Vītasoka, the younger brother of Dhammāsoka and certain other verses to Tissakumāra, the youngest brother of King Aśoka. If we can at all depend for chronology on the information supplied by Dhammapāla, the anthologies of Thera-Therī-gāthā must be taken as compilations that had received their final shape at the Third Buddhist Council and not before.

The Pāli Dhammapada is undoubtedly the earliest of the six copies of the anthologies of the Dhammapada class. The earliest mention of the Pāli Dhammapada by name is to be found in the Milinda Pañha which is a composition of the first or second century A.D. From the mere fact that there were certain quotations in the Kathāvatthu and Mahāniddesa of stanzas now traceable in the Dhammapada, no definite conclusion can be drawn as to the actual date of its composition. The Dhammapada hardly includes any stanzas that might be supposed to have been drawn upon the canonical collection of Jātakas. But as shown by the editors of the Prākrit Dhammapada [1] there are a few gāthās which were evidently manipulated on the basis of the gāthās in the Jātakas. Similarly it cannot be maintained that the Dhammapada contains any stanzas that were directly derived from the Sutta Nipāta, for the suttas which might

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[1] Dr. Barua and Mr. Mitra, Prākrit Dhammapada, published by the University of Calcutta.

be singled out as the source of some of the gāthās of the Dhammapada are to be found also in such earlier collections as the Dīgha or the Majjhima or the Saṁyutta or the Aṅguttara. The Thera and Therī gāthās are the two anthologies of the Khuddaka Nikāya which appear to have been presupposed by the Dhammapada. As regards external evidence, there is only one tradition, namely, that a powerful discourse based on the Appamādavagga of the Dhammapada served to attract the attention of King Aśoka to Buddhism, clearly pointing to the existence of the Dhammapada as a distinct anthology as early as the third century B.C.

The Itivuttaka, the Udāna, and the Paṭisambhidāmagga are the remaining three books of the Khuddaka Nikāya of which the date of composition must depend upon mere conjecture till accidentally we obtain any reliable date. The Itivuttaka is a book of quotations of sayings of the Buddha alleged as genuine, making no reference to any canonical work or to any historical event ascertaining its date, though it seems that it was the result of an after-thought, of a critical study of the authentic teachings of the Buddha in a certain light and for a specific purpose. The Udāna is a curious medley of legends and historical records, presented in a particular setting with a view to emphasising some pronounced opinions of the Buddha on certain controversial topics. The Paṭisambhidāmagga presents a systematic exposition of certain important topics of Buddhism, and as such it deserves to be classed rather with the books of the Abhidhammapiṭaka than with those of the sutta. It is quite possible that before the development of the extant Abhidhammapiṭaka, it passed as one of the Abhidhamma treatises. Concerning these three books the utmost that we can say is that they are mentioned even in the list of the Dīghabhāṇakas, being counted there as three among the twelve books of the Khuddaka Nikāya, and that if the tradition about this list is

at all credible, these three books must have existed when the list was drawn up, say, in the second century B.C.

The results arrived at concerning the chronology of the Pāli Canonical literature are presented in the subjoined table:

1. The simple statements of Buddhist doctrine now found in identical works in paragraphs or verses recurring in all the books.
2. Episodes found in identical works in two or more of the existing books.
3. The Sīlas, the Pārāyaṇa group of sixteen poems without the prologue, the Aṭṭhaka group of four or sixteen poems, the Sikkhāpadas.
4. Dīgha, Vol. I, the Majjhima, the Saṁyutta, the Aṅguttara, and earlier Pātimokkha code of 152 rules.
5. The Dīgha, Vols. II and III, the Thera-Therī-gāthā, the collection of 500 Jātakas, Suttavibhaṅga, Paṭisambhidāmagga, Puggalapaññatti and the Vibhaṅga.
6. The Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga, the Pātimokkha code completing 227 rules, the Vimānavatthu and Petavatthu, the Dhammapada and the Kathāvatthu.
7. The Cullaniddesa, the Mahāniddesa, the Udāna, the Itivuttaka, the Sutta Nipāta, the Dhātukathā, the Yamaka, and the Paṭṭhāna.
8. The Buddhavaṁsa, the Cariyāpiṭaka, and the Apadāna.
9. The Parivārapāṭha.
10. The Khuddakapāṭha.

CHAPTER II

CANONICAL PĀLI LITERATURE

SECTION I.—THE VINAYA PIṬAKA

The Pāli Canonical literature consists of the three piṭakas or Tripiṭakas or Tīpiṭakas. The word Piṭaka means a basket containing manuscripts. According to Mahāmahopādhāya Dr. Haraprasād Shāstrī, it is an oval shaped cane basket with a pyramidal lid, the whole covered with leather (Buddhistic Studies edited by Dr. B. C. Law, p. 846). The secondary meaning of Piṭaka is "traditional handing on". Mrs. Rhys Davids in her recently published book, 'Sakya or Buddhist origins' (Appendix I, p. 431) says that in this secondary meaning it was no far cry to accept the word for that which by the time the third or the Abhidhamma Piṭaka was finished, considerably later than the date of the Patna Congress, was an accomplished fact. The Tripiṭaka consists of the three piṭakas, the Vinaya, the Sutta and the Abhidhamma.

The Vinaya Piṭaka[1] really means a basket containing manuscripts of Vinaya or the rules of

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[1] Read the Vinaya Texts, S.B.E., Vols. XIII, XVII, and XX—Translations from the Pāli Vinaya Piṭakaṁ by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg. There is a book called Vinaya Saṁgaha which is a summary of the Vinaya Piṭaka divided into various sections giving concise explanations of Vinaya rules. Read in this connection a Pāli work on Vinaya known as the Vinayālaṅkāraṭīkā especially adapted for the observance of the rules of the priesthood by the Buddhist monks compiled by Tīpiṭakālaṅkāra Thera of Burma at the request of the King of Burma named Sirisudhammarājā of the sixteenth century A.D.

Louis Finot .. Fragments du Vinaya Sanskrit (Journal Asiatique, Paris, 1911).

R. O. Franke .. Die Gāthās des Vinayapiṭaka und ihre Parallellen (Wiener Zeitschrift für die kunde des morgenlandes, Wien, 1910).

discipline. It contains rules and regulations for the management of the Buddhist Saṁgha, and for the conduct of the daily life of monks and nuns. Rules for reception into the Order, for the periodical confession of sins, for life during the rainy season, for housing, clothing, medicinal remedies, and legal procedure in case of schism, are also included in it.

Sukumar Dutt .. Early Buddhist Monachism, 600 B.C.–100 B.C. (Trubner's Oriental Series, 1924). In this book the author treats of the following topics :—

(a) The Laws of the Vinaya Piṭaka and their interpretation.
(b) The primitive Paribrājakas.—A theory of their origin.
(c) The Saṁgha and the Pātimokkha: Development of the latter. The author has done some justice to the Pācittiya rules.
(d) The Pātimokkha as a ritual.
(e) The growth of the Buddhist Cœnobium. In this chapter the author discusses about the uposatha cātudissa saṁgha, vassa, āvāsas, etc.
(f) The International polity of a Buddhist Saṁgha—i.e. the saṁgha-kammas are treated of in it.
(g) Communal life at an āvāsa.

All these chapters make up the chief contents of the Vinaya Piṭaka. The book is interesting and may be useful in studying the Vinaya rules. Vide also the Vinayapiṭakam and Early Buddhist Monasticism in its Growth and Development by Sukumar Dutt (Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. X, 1923. Cal. Univ.). The Vinayagūḷhatthadīpanī is an explanation of difficult passages in the Vinaya Piṭaka (Mabel Bode, The Pāli Literature of Burma, p. 18).

Jan Jaworski—la section des Remedes dans la Vinaya des Mahiśāsaka et dans le Vinaya Pāli. J. Przyluski—Fables in the Vinaya Piṭaka of the Sarvāstivāda School, I.H.Q., Vol. V, March 1929.

M. Nagai's paper on 'Buddhist Vinaya Discipline or Buddhist Commandments' (published in the Buddhistic Studies, edited by Dr. B. C. Law, pp. 365–382) is an admirable contribution. In this paper Nagai has discussed the following points :—(a) the position of the Vinaya Piṭaka in the Buddhist Texts, (b) fundamentals of the Vinaya Piṭaka, (c) varieties of the Vinaya Piṭaka, (d) four Pārājikā, (e) thirteen Saṅghā-vaśeṣas, (f) thirty niḥsargikapātayantikas, (g) ninety Pātayantikas, (h) one hundred śaikṣa, (i) meat and garlic, (j) motive underlying inhibitions, (k) commandments to Bodhisattva, and (l) five and ten commandments.

These rules are supposed to have been laid down by the Buddha himself as occasion necessitated their promulgation. Stories have also found a place in it, some of them give us fragments of the Buddha legend while others throw a flood of light on the daily life of ancient India. These stories are illustrative of the occasion when the Buddha was constrained to have recourse to folklore with a view to teach morality to his pupils. The greater portion of the Vinaya Piṭaka appears to be dry and the technicalities therein have rendered the work an unpleasant reading in spite of the narrative of events in the life of Buddha. The Vinaya Piṭaka is, in one word, an account of the Buddhist Church or Order (Saṁgha).

The Vinaya, as known in Burma, is the monascode handed down by the Theravādin sect in Ceylon. The influence of Ceylon on Burma has been paramount in questions of monastic discipline and the code drawn up by the ancient Sinhalese theras has been carefully preserved by the Burmese fraternity in the letter and the spirit ever since its arrival in Burma in the 11th century. A great deal of the Vinaya literature, mostly explanatory and sometimes controversial, has grown up round the code from the time of the early commentators to the present day. The important works by Sinhalese authors on Vinaya formed the base of Burmese studies (Mabel Bode, Pāli Literature of Burma, p. 5).

The Vinaya Piṭaka consists of the following books :—(1) Suttavibhaṅga, (2) Khandhakas, (3) Parivāra, and (4) Pātimokkha.

The first is subdivided into (*a*) Pārājika, and (*b*) Pācittiya. The second comprises (i) Mahāvagga, and (ii) Cullavagga.

1. The Suttavibhaṅga means the explanations or expositions of the suttas. The word 'Sutta' corresponds to the Sanskrit 'Sūtra' and literally means 'thread'. "It is applied to a kind of book, the contents of which are, as it were, a thread, giving

the gist or substance of more than is expressed in them in words. This sort of book was the latest development in Vedic literature just before and after the rise of Buddhism" (Rhys Davids, American Lectures, Buddhism, its history and literature, pp. 53-54). The Buddhists used this word to mean a discourse, or a chapter. In the language of Rhys Davids, a savant of hallowed memory, the Suttavibhaṅga "tells us firstly how and when and why the particular rule in question came to be laid down. This historical introduction always closes with the words of the rule in full. Then follows a very ancient word for word commentary so old that it was already about B.C. 400 (the probably approximate date of the Suttavibhaṅga) considered so sacred that it was included in the canon. And the old commentary is succeeded, where necessary, by further explanations and discussions of doubtful points. These are sometimes of very great historical value. The discussions, for instance (in the rules as to murder and theft), of what constitutes murder, and what constitutes theft, anticipate in a very remarkable degree the kind of fine-drawn distinctions found in modern law books. The passages when made accessible, in translation, to Western scholars, must be of the greatest interest to students of the history of law, as they are quite the oldest documents of that particular kind in the world."

The Suttavibhaṅga lays down and explains all the rules which are contained in the Pātimokkha. It is divided into two books: (*a*) Pārājika (Chinese Po-lo-i), and (*b*) Pācittiya (Po-yeh-to) after the two main heads into which offences are divided, viz. (i) Pārājikas the punishment for which was expulsion from the Order, and (ii) Pācittiyas for which some expiation was laid down. Both the Pārājika[1] and the Pācittiya[2] deal with two hundred and twenty-

[1] This section consists of four rules only according to the Chinese.
[2] It includes 90 rules but the Pāli book gives 92 rules.

seven rules for the guidance of the bhikkhus in determining the offences and the disputes of the bhikkhus and formulating punishment. The two hundred and twenty-seven rules are divided into eight sections, viz. Pārājika dhammā (rules concerning those acts which bring about defeat)[1], Saṅghādisesa[2] (Chinese Seng-kia-po-sha) dhammā (rules which require formal meetings of the Order), Aniyatā dhammā (rules regarding undetermined matters), Nissaggiyā pācittiyā dhammā (Pacittiya rules involving forfeiture), Pācittiyā dhammā (rules requiring repentance), Paṭidesaniyā dhammā (rules regarding matters which ought to be confessed), Sekhiyā dhammā[3] (Chinese Chung-hioh, rules of etiquette), and Adhikaraṇa-Samathā dhammā (rules regarding the settlement of cases) which form what is known as the Pātimokkha code of the Vinaya Piṭaka. We hold with Rhys Davids and Oldenberg that the Pātimokkha[4] seems to have owed its existence to the ancient Indian custom of holding sacred two periods in each month, the times of the Full Moon (Vinaya Texts, I, S.B.E., p. x).

[1] Defeat in a bhikkhu's endeavour to achieve the end for which he entered the Order in order to reach the supreme goal of Arahatship.

[2] It includes 13 rules requiring a distinct confession before an assembly of not less than five Brethren and the infliction of penance according to their decision.

[3] Sekhiyā dhammā means dhammas to be studied by way of personal discipline consisting of 100 rules but the Pāli list gives only 75 rules.

[4] Read (i) Minayeff's Edition of the Prātimokṣa sūtra, St. Petersburg, Akad, 1869.

(ii) The Pāli Text with a translation and Notes by J. F. Dickson M.A., (J.R.A.S., New Series, 1876).

(iii) A valuable translation of the Pātimokkha from Pāli was published in 1839 by Rev. D. J. Gogerly in the Ceylon Friend, Vol. III, and was republished in 1862, together with a translation from Chinese by Rev. S. Beal (J.R.A.S., Second Series, Vol. XIX), and

(iv) Pandit Vidhusekhar Shāstrī's Devanāgarī Ed. with a Bengali translation of the Bhikkhu and Bhikkhuṇī Pātimokkha published in 1323 B.S. may be consulted. Notes wherever necessary are given therein.

The Brothers and Sisters used to convene meetings[1] twice in each month (on the fourteenth or fifteenth day) to confess to the assembly the sins and faults which they had committed. The object of the confession was to take upon themselves the punishment which, they believed, would atone for their sin. "The completion of the recitation is, therefore, the evidence that all who have taken part in it are pure in respect of the specified offences. And this is the origin of that second name, the Pātimokkha, which means the Acquittal, or Deliverance or Discharge."

The Pātimokkha[2] was composed to be used at such penitential assemblies. It contains a list of

[1] The second book of the Mahāvagga contains proceedings of these gatherings.

[2] So-sor-thar-pa or a code of Buddhist monastic laws: Being the Tibetan version of Prātimokṣa of the Mūla Sarvāstivāda School. Edited and translated by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B. The Tibetan text with an English translation corresponds to Po-lo-ti-mo-ca in Chinese or Pātimokkha in Pāli which signifies literally "disburdenment of each individual's sins" but includes in fact a complete code of monastic laws. A short summary of the So-sor-thar-pa is contained in the Mahāvyutpatti. The So-sor-thar-pa is well received in Tibet. In every respectable monastery it is recited with reverence by the senior Lama on the full-moon and new-moon days. It contains a set of rules to be observed by monks. This book contains 258 rules while the Pāli Pātimokkha, 227 rules. The Pāli Pātimokkha passed through the three Buddhist councils was reduced to writing in Ceylon in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (104–76 B.C.). Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa has given a table to show the correspondence between the rules of the Tibetan So-sor-thar-pa and those of the Pāli Pātimokkha. The Tibetan Pātimokkha contains four rules regarding defeat, 13 rules regarding suspension from monkhood, two rules regarding undetermined matters, 30 rules regarding sins which involve forfeiture, 90 rules regarding sins which require expiation, four rules regarding matter to be confessed, seven rules for the settlement of disputes, etc.

An interesting article on Pātimokkha by T. W. Rhys Davids is published in Hasting's Ency. of Religion and Ethics, Vol. IX, pp. 675–677. Cf. also E. Burnouf, Introduction a l'hist du Bouddhisme indien, Paris, 1844.

Vide Kern's Manual of Indian Buddhism, pp. 85–88.

There is a glossary on this work called Pātimokkhagaṇṭhi which interprets the laws of the Buddhist priesthood.

Read comparative arrangement of two translations of the Buddhist ritual for the priesthood known as the Prātimoksha

offences which require confession and expiation. The Pātimokkha consists of the following sections :— (I) Pucchāvissajjanaṁ—interrogatories relating to the requisites for forming a chapter, (II) Nidānaṁ—introductory portion, (III) Pārājikā—four deadly sins, (IV) Saṁghādisesā—the thirteen faults involving temporary separation from the priesthood, (V) Aniyatā dhammā—two undetermined offences, (VI) Nissaggiyā pācittiyā dhammā—the thirty faults requiring confession and absolution and involving forfeiture of the article in reference to which the offence has been committed, (VII) Pācittiyā dhammā—92 faults requiring confession and absolution, (VIII) Paṭidesaniyā dhammā—four offences requiring confession, (IX) Sekhiyā dhammā—72 rules of conduct, (X) Adhikaraṇasamathā dhammā—seven rules for settling cases. A brief summary of these chapters is given below. The Pātimokkha is rather a register of sins containing 227 articles. The number of the Pātimokkha rules varies in different countries: in Tibet they amount to 253 and in China 250. These articles were read out in the meetings referred to above and the assembled Brothers and Sisters were asked to confess the offences referred to if committed by them. The various offences have been grouped under two main heads—one for the Brothers and the other for the Sisters. The former is called Bhikkhupātimokkha[1] while the latter is named Bhikkhunīpātimokkha. In each of these two parts, the offences have been divided into different classes in an unsatisfactory manner.

In the introduction (nidāna) to the Pātimokkha we read that on the fifteenth day of the half month, the members of the Saṁgha assembled after performing the Uposatha ceremony, should recite the Pātimokkha which contains various rules of conduct

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or Pātimokkhaṁ by S. Beal from the Chinese and D. J. Gogerly from the Pāli (J.R.A.S., 1862).

[1] *Vide* M. Nagai—Comparaison du Bhikkhu-pātimokkha en chinois et en pāli.

of the Bhikkhus of the Order. The procedure is that each and every set of rules is recited before the Bhikkhus; and immediately after the recitation, each and every one of them is thrice asked if he is guilty of any of these rules. If any Bhikkhu is guilty he should confess his fault before the assembly. If he has not incurred any such fault, he should remain silent, and his silence will give hint to the presiding Bhikkhu that he is pure.

Pārājikā Dhammā

First of all, the four rules, concerning those acts which bring about defeat should be recited in a meeting of the Saṁgha. The four rules, in short, relate to four conditions of defeat in the effort to accomplish the object for which a Bhikkhu has entered the Order. If a Bhikkhu acquires the carnal knowledge of any one, down even to an animal, or takes a thing which is not given him, or deprives or helps to deprive a human being of his life or utters praises of death and self-destruction, or utters a fruitless falsehood with respect to his knowledge and insight, that Bhikkhu falls in defeat, and he is no longer in communion.

Saṁghādisesā Dhammā

Next, the thirteen matters, which in their earlier as well as in their later stages, require formal meetings of the Order, are recited. If a Bhikkhu emits semen by design, or comes into contact with a woman in touch, words or thought, or acts as a go-between between a man and a woman, he violates a Saṁghādisesa rule. If a Bhikkhu builds for himself or for others as well without the approval of the fellow Bhikkhus a hut or residence on a dangerous site not having any open space around it and exceeding the due measurements, he violates a Saṁghādisesa rule. If a Bhikkhu in harshness, malice or anger harasses another Bhikkhu by a groundless or unimportant charge of having com-

mitted a Pārājikā offence, he commits a Saṁghādisesa offence. If a Bhikkhu or Bhikkhus causes or cause or even helps or help to cause a division in a community even after repeated warnings and requests to the contrary, that Bhikkhu or those Bhikkhus trangresses or trangress a Saṁghādisesa rule. If a Bhikkhu refuses to listen to what is spoken to him, or himself speaks to others according to the Dhamma, and insists on such conduct even after repeated requests, that Bhikkhu commits a Saṁghādisesa offence. If a Bhikkhu leads a life hurtful and of bad effect to the faith, and he insists on it even after warnings, he too is guilty of transgressing a Saṁghādisesa rule. If any Bhikkhu is guilty of transgressing any of these rules, he should be on probation for as many days as he has knowingly concealed his sin. Next, for six further days, he should undergo the Mānatta discipline[1] and after that he should be reinstated in a congregation of at least twenty Bhikkhus.

Aniyatā Dhammā[2]

The two rules regarding undetermined matters are next recited. If a Bhikkhu takes a seat with a woman in secret suitable for sexual intercourse, and if a trustworthy woman seeing it charges him under one or other of the three rules—the Pārājikā, the Saṁghādisesa, or the Pācittiya—that Bhikkhu, if he acknowledges his offence, should be dealt with accordingly. Even if his seat be such as con-

[1] *Vide* Cullavagga, II, 6–8. This is the name of some sort of penance or punishment attached to the commission of a Saṁghādisesa offence, mānattam deti or samādiyati means to undergo penance. Mānatta may be either apaṭicchanna, that is, penance for an offence which has been confessed or paṭicchanna, that is, penance for an offence which has been concealed; in the latter case it is combined with parivāsa (Childers' Pāli Dictionary, p. 235 and P.T.S. Dictionary, p. 152).

[2] Aniyato literally means uncertain, doubtful. Aniyatā dhammā means "undetermined offences" because it depends upon circumstances whether they are to be treated as Pārājika, Saṁghādisesa, or Pācittiya (*vide* Childers' Pāli Dictionary, p. 35).

venient for addressing wicked and alluring words, and if he is charged under the Saṁghādisesa or *Pācittiya rules, he should be dealt with accordingly*, in case he acknowledges his offence.

Nissaggiyā Pācittiyā Dhammā

The thirty Pācittiyā Rules involving forfeiture are next recited. If a Bhikkhu keeps a robe even beyond the time limit of ten days after the settlement of the robes and the performance of the Kaṭhina ceremony by the Bhikkhu, or, if he, in similar circumstances, be without his three robes, even for a single night, unless with the permission of the other Bhikkhus, in each case he commits a Pācittiya offence involving forfeiture. When the robes have been settled and the Kaṭhina ceremony performed by the Bhikkhu, if then a set of insufficient robes is offered to him, he may keep it till the end of a month in course of which he may hope to be supplied with the deficiency. But if he keeps it beyond one month, he commits a Pācittiya offence requiring forfeiture. If a Bhikkhu accepts a robe except in exchange, or has it washed or dyed or beaten by a Bhikkhuṇī not related to him, he commits a similar offence. If a Bhikkhu asks a householder or his wife, not related to him, for a robe, except at the right season, he commits a similar offence. If his asking is granted, he should accept only the just required portion of inner and outer robes; if he takes more, he commits a similar offence. If a Bhikkhu desirous of a fine robe, makes suggestions to the party or parties concerned for a particular kind of robe according to his wish, he commits a similar offence. If any agent of a Bhikkhu accepts robe-fund (i.e., money) from any lay-devotee to provide his chief (i.e., the Bhikkhu) with robes, then the Bhikkhu concerned may remind his agent, up to the sixth time, that he is in need of a set of robes. If he does not get his robes even then, he should not make any

further request; if he does, *he commits a Pācittiya* offence involving forfeiture.

If a Bhikkhu possesses a rug or mat made of silk[1] *or made of pure black wool of goat's hair,* he commits a Pācittiya offence involving forfeiture. If a Bhikkhu makes a new rug without taking two parts of pure black wool, the third of white, and the fourth of tawny and if he makes another new rug within a period of six years unless with the permission of the Bhikkhus, in each case, he commits a Pācittiya offence involving forfeiture. If a Bhikkhu makes a new seat-rug without taking two parts of pure black wool, the third of white, and the fourth of tawny and if he makes another new rug within a period of six years unless with the permission of the Bhikkhus, in each case, he commits a Pācittiya offence involving forfeiture. If a Bhikkhu makes a new seat-rug without taking the breadth of the accepted span from all round the old one, if he accepts and then carries himself or with the help of a porter some goat's wool beyond a distance of three leagues, if he gets goat's wool washed, dyed or combed out by a Bhikkhuṇī not related to him, if he receives, directly or indirectly gold or silver or engages himself in any one of the various transactions in which silver is used or in any one of the various kinds of buying and selling then in each case, he commits a Pācittiya offence involving forfeiture.

If a Bhikkhu keeps a spare bowl beyond the limit of ten days, or gets another bowl in exchange for an old one broken in less than five places or stores up medicine—ghee, butter, oil, honey, and molasses—beyond the limit of seven days, he commits in each case, a Pācittiya offence involving forfeiture. If a Bhikkhu provides himself with materials for robes for the rainy season when more than a month of the hot days has yet to run, or

[1] Kosiyamissakaṁ santhataṁ. The correct spelling is santata meaning a rug or mat.

makes and wears them when more than half a month of the summer has yet to run, he commits a similar offence. If a Bhikkhu takes back a set of robes given by him to another Bhikkhu or himself asks for yarn and has it woven by weavers into cloth for a set of robes, he is guilty of the same offence. If a Bhikkhu gives suggestion to a weaver to whom a lay-devotee has given orders for a set of robes to be woven for that particular Bhikkhu, then in that case also he commits a Pācittiya offence involving forfeiture for his having given directions to the weaver even before the offer was made. If a Bhikkhu keeps a robe that has fallen to his lot as a special gift, ten days before the full-moon night in the month of Kartic beyond the time when the robes are settled, he commits a similar offence with similar results. If a Bhikkhu separates himself from any one of his three robes beyond the sixth night except by permission from the Bhikkhus, or causes to be diverted to himself any benefit already dedicated to the Saṁgha, in each case he commits a Pācittiya offence involving forfeiture.

Pācittiyā Dhammā[1]

If a Bhikkhu tells a deliberate lie or uses abusive language or speaks ill of another Bhikkhu or causes one not received into the higher grade of the Order to recite the Dhamma, clause by clause or lies down to sleep for more than three nights in the same place with one not received into the higher grade of the Order, or lies down in the same place with a woman or preaches the Dhamma in more than five or six words to a woman without a man arrived at years of discretion, or tells one not received into the higher grade of the Order that he or any other Bhikkhu has extraordinary spiritual gifts, or that any other Bhikkhu has fallen

[1] Pācittiya means expiatory. There are 92 Pācittiyā Dhammā or priestly offences requiring confession and absolution.

into any grave offence or digs the ground or has it dug, then that Bhikkhu commits, in each of these cases, a Pācittiya offence.

If a Bhikkhu exhorts the Bhikkhunīs without being deputed thereto or even when deputed does so after sun-set or goes to the dwelling place of the Bhikkhunīs to exhort them there except on the right occasion or exhorts them for the sake of gain or gives a robe to a Bhikkhunī who is not related to him except in exchange or makes up a robe or has it made up for a Bhikkhunī who is not related to him or travels by appointment, along a high road in company with a Bhikkhunī except on the right occasion or in similar circumstances goes on board the same boat except for the purpose of crossing over to the other side or knowingly eats food procured by the intervention of a Bhikkhunī or takes seat in a secret place with a Bhikkhunī—then, in each of these cases, that Bhikkhu commits a Pācittiya offence.

If a Bhikkhu (who is not sick) takes more than one meal at a public rest house or goes in a body to receive a meal except on the right occasion or takes food in turn except on the right occasion or accepts more than two or three bowls full of sweetmeats and cakes when invited to a house to take as much as he likes, or partakes of food that has not been left over, even after he has once finished his meal or after he has finished his meal again eats food offered by a Bhikkhu desirous of deliberately stirring up longing in him or takes food at the wrong time or eats food that has been put by or takes when he is not sick, ghee, butter, oil, honey, molasses, flesh, fish, milk, and curd or places, as food, within the door of his mouth, anything not given to him, save only water and a tooth-cleaner, then in each of these cases, he commits a Pācittiya offence.

If a Bhikkhu gives with his own hand food to an Acelaka, or a Paribbājaka, or a Paribbājikā; or takes in company a Bhikkhu for a meal to the

neighbouring village or town, but abruptly sends him away and gets rid of him in order to gain a purpose of his own or forces his way into a house where a meal is going on, or takes a seat in secret with a woman in a concealed place then in each of these cases, he commits a Pācittiya offence. If a Bhikkhu who has already been provided with a meal, goes out without having previously spoken about it to a Bhikkhu, (if there is any one there), goes out a begging either before or after meal-time, except on the right occasion, or accepts a standing invitation with regard to the requisites for more than four months (unless there be a second or perpetual invitation) or goes out to see an army drawn up in battle-array, or to the numbering or drawing up of forces, or to a review while remaining with the army, then in each of these cases, he transgresses a Pācittiya Dhamma.

If a Bhikkhu drinks fermented liquor or strong drinks, or pokes another person with the finger, or sports in the water, or shows disrespect[1] towards a Bhikkhunī or frightens a Bhikkhunī, or in order to warm himself, kindles a fire without sufficient cause, or takes bath at intervals of less than half-a-month except on the proper occasion, or makes use of a new robe without choosing one or other of the three modes of disfigurement, or continues to make use of a robe, which he has already given over to another Bhikkhu, Bhikkhunī, Sikkhamāna, Sāmaṇera, or Sāmaṇerī, as a thing not formally given, or hides or causes another to hide a Bhikkhu's absolute belongings, then in each of these cases, he commits a Pācittiya offence.

If a Bhikkhu deliberately deprives any living thing of life or knowingly drinks water with living things in it, or stirs up for decision a matter which has already been settled according to the Dhamma, or conceals a serious offence committed by another Bhikkhu or admits a person under twenty years of

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[1] The Pāli word is anādariya.

age to the higher grade of the Order, or travels, by appointment, with a caravan of robbers, or does so by appointment, with a woman, or brings false accusations against the Blessed One even after repeated warnings and admonitions or eats, dwells, or sleeps with a Bhikkhu who similarly brings false witness against the Blessed One or acts similarly with a novice who has been expelled for bringing in false witness against the Blessed One, then in each of these cases, he commits a Pācittiya offence.

If a Bhikkhu refuses to submit to the admonitions of fellow Bhikkhus in respect of some precepts in accordance with the Dhamma, or disregards precepts of the Pātimokkha, or fails to take the Pātimokkha to heart when it is being recited, and fails to attend to it with care, or being angry or displeased gives a blow, or makes a threatening gesture to another Bhikkhu, or harasses a Bhikkhu with a Saṁghādisesa charge without ground, or intentionally suggests difficulties of conscience to a Bhikkhu with the idea of giving him trouble or overhears other Bhikkhus engaged in disputes or quarrels, or grumbles about proceedings though he has already declared his consent to formal proceedings according to the Dhamma or rises from his seat and goes away without declaring his consent, when the Saṁgha is conducting a formal enquiry, or grumbles about a robe which he has already given away in a regularly constituted Saṁgha, or knowingly diverts to the use of any individual a property dedicated to the Saṁgha, then in each of these cases, he commits a Pācittiya offence.

If a Bhikkhu crosses without having announced the threshold of an anointed Khattiya King, when the King and the Queen have not gone forth, or picks up or causes another to pick up, except in a grove or in a dwelling place, a jewel or the like, or enters in unearthly hours, a village without having informed a Bhikkhu (if one is present) except on business, or uses a needle case made

of ivory, bone or horn, or makes a new bedstead that exceeds the due measurement, or uses a chair or bedstead stuffed with cotton, or uses a rug or mat-seat not made of the right measurement or a garment for the rainy season not made of the right measurement or an itch-cloth that exceeds the due measurement, or uses a robe that is equal to or larger than the measurement of the robe of the Master, then, in each of these cases, there is a Pācittiya offence.

Paṭidesaniyā Dhammā[1]

The four rules regarding matters which ought to be confessed are next recited. If a Bhikkhu accepts and eats food given by a Bhikkhunī not related to him, that is an offence which he should confess. If a Bhikkhunī stands and gives direction as to serving the dishes to a number of Bhikkhus who are taking a meal, and the Bhikkhus fail to rebuke her, then that is an offence which the Bhikkhus should confess. If a Bhikkhu accepts, without having been previously invited, food with his own hand in a household under discipline, then that is also an offence which ought to be confessed. If a Bhikkhu living in an insecure and dangerous forest-dwelling accepts food with his own hand at his place without having previously given notice of the danger to those who enter the forest, then that too is an offence which ought to be confessed.

Sekhiyā Dhammā[2]

The rules regarding matters connected with discipline should be next recited.

A Bhikkhu should put on his undergarment and robe all around him. He should go and take his seat properly clad amidst the houses, with his

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[1] Paṭidesaniyā means that which ought to be confessed.

[2] Minor precepts regulating the conduct of the priest and applying to his mode of dress, department, eating, etc. They are also known as Sekhiyavattaṁ (Childers' Pāli Dictionary, p. 472).

body under proper control, his eyes downcast, and his robes not pulled up.

He should not laugh loudly, should make but little sound, and he should not sway his body, arms or head while going and taking his seat amidst the houses.

He should not put the hands on the hips (i.e., to keep arms not akimbo), or keep his head covered, or walk on his heels or toes, or loll (i.e., make rest with his hands or with a cloth) while going and taking his seat amidst the houses. He should keep his mind alert and receive alms with attention to his bowl and with equal curry and equally full.

He should eat the alms with mind alert and with attention to his bowl. He should beg straight on from house to house and eat the alms placed in his bowl with equal curry, but without pressing down from the top. He should not cover the curry or condiment with the rice in order to make it nice. He should neither ask curry nor rice for his own particular use (unless he is sick), nor should he with envious thoughts look at others' bowls. He should make his food into round mouthfulls and not into too large balls.

He should not open his mouth till the food-ball is brought close, nor should he put his whole hand into the mouth. He should not talk while the food is in his mouth, nor should he toss the food into his mouth. He should eat without nibbling at the balls of food, without stuffing his cheeks, without shaking his hands about, without scattering the lumps of boiled rice, without putting out his tongue, and finally without smacking his lips.

He should eat further without making a hissing sound and without licking his fingers or his bowl or his lips. He should not take hold of the water-jar with a hand soiled with food, nor throw into the inner court the rinsings of the bowl mixed with lumps of boiled rice. He should not preach the Dhamma to a person with a sunshade or a stuff, or a sword, or a weapon in his hand (unless he is sick).

He should not preach the Dhamma also to a person wearing slippers or sandals, or seated in a cart, or lying on a couch, or lolling, or with a turban on his head, or with his head otherwise covered, unless he is sick. He should not preach the Dhamma himself seated on the earth, or on a low seat, or standing, to a person who is respectively seated on a seat, or on a high seat, or sitting (unless he is sick).

He who is walking behind or by the side of the path, should not preach the Dhamma to a person who is walking respectively in front of him or walking on a path unless he is sick.

He should not ease himself standing on growing grass or into water.

All these are rules of discipline which ought to be observed.

The Adhikaraṇa-Samathā Dhammā

The seven rules regarding the settlement of cases are next recited.

They are :—

(1) Proceeding in presence (Sammukhā-vinaya).
(2) Proceeding for the consciously innocent (Sati vinaya).
(3) Proceeding in the case of those who are no longer out of their mind (Amūḷha vinaya).
(4) Proceeding on confession of guilt (Paṭiññāya).
(5) Proceeding by majority of the Chapter (Yebhuyyasikā).
(6) Proceeding for the obstinate (Tissa-pāpiyyasikā).
(7) Proceeding by covering over as with grass (Tiṇavatthāraka).

These are the words of the Blessed One handed down in the suttas, and they should be recited every half-month. All Bhikkhus are fully expected

to train themselves accordingly in concord, in pleasantness and without dispute.

(2) The Khandhakas or Treatises in set fragments comprise two divisions :—

(i) The Mahāvagga and (ii) The Cullavagga.

The Mahāvagga[1] is the greater division. It gives in the first chapter in a dignified archaic language an account of Gautama's attainment of enlightenment, determination of preaching the law and his winning the first disciples. The first sermon of the Buddha at Benares, the well-known Fire Sermon and the ordination of Rāhula are also related herein. This book lays down rules for admission into the order, the observance of the Uposatha ceremony and the Pātimokkha, the place of residence during the rainy season, the observance of the Pavāraṇā ceremony,[2] foot-clothing, seats, conveyances, dress, etc. It prescribes rules for the determination of the validity and invalidity of the formal acts of the Saṁgha, and for the restoration of order in the Saṁgha. Certain medicines for certain specified diseases are also prescribed herein for the bhikkhus. "We obtain quite incidentally", says Rhys Davids, "a very fair insight into a good deal of the medical lore current at that early period, that is about 400 B.C., in the valley of the Ganges. It is a pity that the current authorities on the history of law and medicine have entirely ignored the details obtainable from these ancient books of Buddhist Canon Law."[3]

It is worth mentioning here that in the Mahāvagga we find evidence of the existence of an "ancient commentary" on which has been based the Suttavibhaṅga. The "ancient commentary" was a word for word commentary on the Pātimokkha

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[1] Read C. Bendall, "Notes and Queries on passages in the Mahāvagga"—J.P.T.S., 1883.

[2] It is the name of the festival held at the end of the Buddhist vassa or lent.

[3] Rhys Davids, American Lectures on the history of Religions, Buddhism, its history and literature, pp. 57-58.

rules without relating why, when, where and concerning whom the said rules were formulated by the Master. These have been later on included in the Suttavibhaṅga. Hence the Suttavibhaṅga is an improvement on the ancient commentary which is found verbatim in the above work. The Mahāvagga refers to Buddha's stay at Uruvelā on the banks of the river Nerañjarā just after he had become Sambuddha and it relates the account of the events which happened under the Bodhi tree. Then it describes what passed under the Ajapāla tree, the Mucalinda tree and the Rājāyatana tree. It gives us the account of the conversion of Tapussa and Bhallika into Buddhism by the Buddha. This account has to say nothing about the three weeks immediately following the period spent under the great Bo-tree. The omission may however be due to incompleteness of the text itself. From the conversion of Tapussa and Bhallika, the thread of narrative runs to give an account of the meeting of the Buddha with Upaka, the Ājīvaka, on his way to Benares via the city of Gayā, and of the preaching of the first sermon in the well-renowned Deer Park near Benares and the conversion of the first five disciples Aññakondañña, Bhaddiya, Vappa, Assaji, and Mahānāma. It records the history of the conversion of Yasa. Māra[1] approached the Buddha and had a conversation with him. Hearing the utterances of the Buddha, he vanished. Buddha converted three Jaṭila brothers, Uruvela Kassapa, Nadī Kassapa, and Gayā Kassapa. An account of the ordination of Sāriputta and Moggallāna is given in it. Duties towards an upājjhāya (preceptor) and a saddhivihārika (fellow priest) are detailed in it. In the account of Jīvaka Komārabhacca given in the Mahāvagga,

[1] *Vide* Dr. B. C. Law's Buddhist Conception of Māra published in the Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference held at Madras. *Vide* also J. Przyluski-La place de Māra dans la mythologic bouddhique, pp. 483–493, J.A., Vol. ccx, January–March, pp. 115–123.

we read that five diseases prevailed among the Magadhans, leprosy, boils, dry leprosy, consumption, and fits. The people affected with these five diseases went to Jīvaka who used to treat King Bimbisāra of Magadha and the members of the royal family. The Mahāvagga furnishes us with an interesting account of Upāli. Besides, there are various other topics discussed in it, e.g. ten precepts for novices, regulations for the Upasampadā or ordination, Uposatha ceremonies, and the recital of the Pātimokkha by the bhikkhus, the residence during the rainy season (vassa).

Soṇa Koḷivisa was ordained by the Buddha who instructed him to use shoes having one lining. He had eighty cart-loads of gold and a retinue of seven elephants. The bhikkhus were instructed by the Buddha not to wear shoes having edges of a blue, yellow, red, brown, black, orange or yellowish colour. Shoes with heel-coverings are not to be worn by the bhikkhus. The bhikkhus are not to wear shoes in the open ārāma. Wooden shoes[1] are not to be worn by them. Foot coverings made of tālipat leaves are not to be worn. Shoes made of tina-grass, muñja-grass, etc. are not to be used. The bhikkhus are allowed to use three kinds of clogs fixed to the ground, e.g. privy-clogs, urinal-clogs, and rinsing clogs. Calves should not be killed by them. The bhikkhus are allowed to use a sedan chair. Lofty and large things to recline upon are not to be used by them. Some skins, e.g. lion, tiger, panther, for skins are not to be used. The bhikkhus are allowed to sit down on seats arranged by laymen but not to lie down on them. They are allowed to have bath constantly in all the border countries which are situated beyond Mahāsāla, beyond the river Salalavatī, beyond Thuna[2] and beyond Usīradhaja.[3] Shoes

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[1] Kaṭṭhapādukā-Vinaya Piṭaka, Vol. I, p. 189.

[2] A brahmin village in the Majjhimadesa (Jātaka, Vol. VI, pp. 62, 65).

[3] A pabbata in the Majjhimadesa.

with thick linings are allowed for the bhikkhus to use in all these border countries. The Mahāvagga prescribes the five medicaments, e.g. ghee, butter, oil, honey, and molasses. The bhikkhus are permitted to use them at the right time and at other times. The bhikkhus are allowed to use the fat of bears, fish, alligators, swine, and asses if received at the right time, cooked at the right time, mixed at the right time, to be partaken of with oil. The use of certain roots as medicines are allowed for the bhikkhus—turmeric, ginger, orris root, white orris root, ativisa, black hellebore, usira root, bhaddamuttaka. The use of astringent decoctions as medicine is allowed—nimba, pakkava,[1] nattamāla, kuṭaja,[2] etc. The use of leaves and fruits as medicines is allowed, e.g. leaves of nimba, tulasi, kappasika, etc., pippala, haritaka, āmalaka, etc. The use of gums and salts is allowed as medicines, hiṅgu, sipāṭikā, etc., sea-salt, black salt, rock salt, red-salt, etc. The use of raw flesh and blood is permissible in case of disease. The use of eye ointments is permissible. The bhikkhus are allowed the use of a little oil on the head, use of a double bag, a decoction of oil. The practice of taking medicine through the nose is permissible. The bhikkhus are allowed the use of three kinds of pots, e.g. bronze pots, wooden pots, and pots made of the shells of fruits. They are allowed the use of hot baths in water in which the medicinal herbs have been steeped. The use of artificial and natural juice is allowed. The bhikkhus can cook in-doors. No surgical operation is to be performed within a distance of two inches round the anus and a clyster is not to be used. The bhikkhus are not to eat elephants' flesh, dogs' flesh, serpents' flesh, lions' flesh, and hyenas' flesh. They are to take rice-milk and honey-lumps. The Mahāvagga gives us an idea of the dress of the bhikkhus and it describes the Kaṭhina ceremonies. The bhikkhus

[1] A kind of creeper. [2] An antidote to dysentery.

are allowed the use of a mantle, silk mantle, and woollen garments. They are also allowed the use of a dye-ladle or a scoop with a long handle and they can have the use of a trough for dyeing cloth in. The bhikkhus can use an under-robe of torn pieces, an upper-robe of torn pieces, and a waist cloth of torn pieces. They are allowed the use of garments for the rainy season, the use of mat, the use of an itch-cloth when the bhikkhus have the itch and the use of a cloth to wipe the faces with. There is a chapter dealing with validity and invalidity of formal acts of the Saṁgha. If an act is unlawful and performed by an incomplete congregation, such an act is objectionable and invalid on account of its unlawfulness and of incompleteness of the congregation. An official act which requires the presence of four persons if performed by a congregation in which a bhikkhuṇī is the fourth is no real act and ought not to be performed. An account of the schisms of the Saṁgha is given in the Mahāvagga.

It will be interesting to note that the Mahāvagga in presenting a systematic history of the developments of the Buddhist Order only records a few episodes in the life of the Buddha. It leaves the life of Siddhārtha out of account and starts the history just from the Buddhahood of Gautama. The justification for the inclusion of such a life history of the Buddha seems to be this that with the Buddhists, the whole set of laws regulating their life and conduct derived their authority from the Buddhahood and personality of the Master.

(ii) The Cullavagga is the smaller division. In it is found a number of edifying anecdotes, all connected with the life of the Buddha and history or constitution of the Order. It contains twelve khandhas. The first nine chapters deal with disciplinary proceedings, different offences and expiations, settlement of disputes among the fraternity, the daily life of the bhikkhus, residence, furniture,

duties of bhikkhus towards one another, and the exclusion from the Pātimokkha ceremony. The tenth chapter describes the duties of the nuns. The last two chapters, eleventh and twelfth, furnish us with an account of the first two councils of Rājagaha[1] and Vesālī and are regarded as later supplements. The rules are generally preceded by a history of the occasion on which the Buddha was supposed to have made them.

The Cullavagga deals with the 12 cases of a proceeding (Kamma) which is against the law and 12 cases of a proceeding which is according to law. There are six permissible cases of Tajjaniya kamma (act of rebuke). A bhikkhu against whom the Tajjaniya kamma has been carried out, ought to conduct himself aright. He ought to confer upasampadā or ordination; he ought not to provide himself with a sāmaṇera or a novice, he ought not to accept the office of giving exhortation to the nuns and if he has accepted the office, he ought not to exhort the nuns. There are eighteen duties which follow on a Tajjaniya kamma and there are 18 cases in which there ought to be no revocation of the Tajjaniya kamma and there are 18 cases in which there ought to be a revocation.

Pabbājaniya kamma (act of excommunication) has been carried out by the Saṁgha against those bhikkhus who are followers of Assaji and Punabbasu to the effect that those bhikkhus who are followers of Assaji and Punabbasu are not to dwell on the Kiṭā Hill. The Saṁgha approves of it.

There are three kinds of bhikkhus against whom the Saṁgha, if it likes, should carry out the Pabbājaniya kamma, that is to say, one who is frivolous in action, in speech, and both in action and speech.

[1] *Vide* Przyluski's Le Concile de Rājagaha, 1928. It is an interesting and instructive treatise on the subject. Mrs. Rhys Davids in the 19th section of her 'Sākya or Buddhist Origins' has ably discussed Buddhist councils, pp. 348 foll.

There are acts of reconciliation (paṭisāraṇiya kamma). "The paṭisāraṇiya kamma has been carried out against the bhikkhu Sudhamma with the words, 'You are to ask and obtain pardon of Citta, the householder'. The Saṁgha approves the motion. There are five kinds of bhikkhus against whom the Saṁgha, if it likes, should carry out the paṭisāraṇiya kamma, that is to say, one who goes about to bring loss on the laity, etc."

There are acts of suspension for not acknowledging, and for not atoning for an offence. Channa, the bhikkhu, has been subjected by the Saṁgha to the Ukkhepaṇiya kamma (act of suspension) for not acknowledging a fault.

There are 18 cases in which a revocation of the Ukkhepaṇiya kamma on not renouncing a sinful doctrine should be carried out.

If a meeting of four bhikkhus, of whom one is a probationer, should place a bhikkhu on probation or throw him back to the beginning of his probationary course, or subject him to the mānatta discipline or if a meeting of 20 bhikkhus, of whom one is a probationer, should rehabilitate a bhikkhu, that is an invalid act and need not be obeyed.

There are three ways of interruption of the probationary period of a bhikkhu who has been placed under probation. The bhikkhu who has been placed under probation is to go up to a single bhikkhu and arranging his robe on one shoulder and squatting down on his heels and stretching forth his hands with the palms together, he is to say "I take my probation again upon myself". Then the probation is resumed or he is to say "I take the duties of a probationer upon myself again". Then also is the probation resumed.

The bhikkhus are to follow three kammavācās, one for the throwing back, one for the inclusive probation, and one for the new mānatta.

There are proceedings on the breach of the first Saṁghādisesa. Let the Saṁgha impose upon the bhikkhu a probation for a further month for

those two Saṁghādisesa offences concealed for two months. If a bhikkhu while he is undergoing probation, becomes a Sāmaṇera, there can happen no probation to him so long as he is a Sāmaṇera.

There are 36 cases of fresh offences being committed whilst under probation.

If a bhikkhu who is undergoing probation is guilty meanwhile of a number of Saṁghādisesa offences and concealing them throws off the robes and he, when he has again received the upasampadā, does not conceal those offences—the bhikkhu ought to be thrown back to the commencement of his term of probation and an inclusive probation ought to be imposed upon him corresponding to the period which has elapsed since the first offence among those offences which he has concealed.

There are nine principal cases in which a bhikkhu is not purified by undergoing a term of probation.

The bhikkhus assembled in the Saṁgha were unable to settle the disputed question (that was brought before them) since they became violent, quarrelsome and disputatious and kept on wounding one another with sharp words. They were allowed to settle such a dispute by the vote of the majority.

There are four kinds of legal questions requiring formal settlement by the Saṁgha, that is to say, legal questions arising out of (1) disputes, (2) censure, (3) offences, and (4) business.

The bhikkhus are allowed to appoint on the jury a bhikkhu possessed of ten qualities. There are three ways of taking votes—the secret method, the whispering method, and the open method. A bhikkhu who is the teller of the votes is to make the voting tickets of different colours and as each bhikkhu comes up to him he is to say to him thus, " This is the ticket for the man of such an opinion ; this is the ticket for the man of such an opinion. Take whichever you like." When he has chosen (he is to add) " Don't show it to anybody ". If he ascertains that those whose opinion is against the

dhamma are in the majority, he is to reject the votes as wrongly taken. If he ascertains that those whose opinion is in accordance with the dhamma are in the majority, he is to report the votes as well taken. This is the secret method of taking the votes.

A bhikkhu who is the teller of the votes is to whisper in each bhikkhu's ear, "This is the ticket of those of such an opinion; this is the ticket of those of such an opinion. Take whichever you like." When he has chosen (he is to add) "Don't tell anybody (which way you have voted)". If he ascertains that those whose opinion is against the dhamma are in the majority, he is to reject the votes as wrongly taken. If he ascertains that those whose opinion is in accordance with the dhamma are in the majority, he is to report the votes as well taken. This is the whispering method of taking the votes.

If a bhikkhu ascertains (beforehand) that those whose opinion is in accordance with the dhamma are in the majority, the vote is to be taken undisguisedly, openly. This is the open method of taking the votes.

The bhikkhus are not to wear long hair. They are not to smooth the hair with a comb. They are allowed the ordinary mode of shampooing with the hand. They are not to look at the image of their faces in a looking-glass or a bowl of water; but they are allowed to do so only when they are ill. They are not to anoint their faces nor to rub ointment, etc. into their faces. They are not to go to see dancing, or singing, or music. They are not to wear woollen cloth with long fleece to it. They are not to put away their bowls with water in them. They are allowed to dry their bowls for a short time in a warm place and then to put them away. They are allowed the use of a mat made of grass, the use of a small cloth, the use of bags to carry their bowls in. They are not to put their bowls on the bed or on a chair. They are

not to keep their bowls on their laps. They are not to put them down on a sunshade. They are not to open the door with their bowls in their hands. They are allowed the use of a blade and of a sheath (for the blade) made of felt. They can use needles and needlecase made of bamboo. They are allowed the use of a grass-mat, false threads, a box or drawer in the workshop. The bhikkhus are allowed to line the basement of a hall or a shed with facing of three kinds—brick facing, stone facing, and wooden facing; the use of stairs of three kinds—brick stairs, stone stairs, and wooden stairs and the use of a balustrade. They are allowed to provide a railing for the cloister. They are allowed to face round the lower half of the wall with bricks. The use of a chimney is allowed. They are allowed the use of clay to spread over their faces, if their faces are scorched. A trough can be used by the bhikkhus to moisten the clay in. They are allowed to lay the floor with flooring of 3 kinds—brick flooring, stone flooring, and wooden flooring. The use of a drain to carry off the water is allowed. The use of stools for the bathroom is allowed. They are allowed to enclose the bathroom with three kinds of enclosures—brick walls, stone walls, and wooden fences. The bhikkhus can have an antechamber in the bathroom. Outlet in the antechamber of the bathroom is also allowed. The hall to the bathroom is allowed. Water vessels of three kinds can be used—brass pots, wooden pots, and skins. The bhikkhus are allowed to make use of a towel and to wipe the water off with a cloth. They are allowed a tank. A stand for the bowl can be used. The bhikkhus are allowed the use of small jars and brooms, the use of fans and flower-stands, and the use of mosquito-fans. They are allowed to cut their nails according to the length of the flesh. They are allowed the use of razors, of a stone to sharpen the razors on, of powder prepared with sipātika-gum to prevent them rusting, of a sheath to hold them in, and of all the apparatus of a barber.

They are not to have their beards cut by barbers, nor to let them grow long nor to wear them long on the chin like a goat's beard. They are allowed the use of an instrument to remove the wax from the ear. They are allowed the use of a loom and of shuttles, strings, tickets, and all the apparatus belonging to a loom. They are not to wear their under-garments arranged as laymen do, nor to wear upper-garments as the laymen do. Tooth-sticks four finger-breadths long at the least are allowed. They are allowed to eat onions when diseased. They are not to follow manifold evil practices. Abodes of five kinds are allowed for the bhikkhus, e.g. vihāras, aḍḍhayogas,[1] storied dwellings, attics, and caves. Bedsteads made of laths of split bamboo are allowed. A rectangular chair, an arm-chair, a sofa, a sofa with arms to it, a state-chair, a cushioned chair, a chair raised on a pedestal, a chair with many legs, a board (to recline on), a cane-bottomed chair, a straw-bottomed chair are also allowed. Supports to bedsteads are allowed to the bhikkhus. Pillows half the size of a man's head and bolsters of five kinds are allowed; use in the vihāras of whitewash, black colouring, and red colouring is allowed. Curtains can be used. Chambers in shape like a palankeen, chambers in shape like a quart measure, chambers on an upper storey, pins in the wall and bone hooks are allowed; verandahs, covered terraces, inner verandahs, and overhanging eaves are allowed. A service hall, a water-room, and a watershed are allowed. The bhikkhus are enjoined upon that paying of reverence, rising up in reverence, salutation, proper respect, and apportionment of the best seat, and water and food, shall be according to seniority. But property belonging to the Saṁgha shall not be exclusively appropriated according to seniority. The bhikkhus are to sit down on seats arranged by laymen excepting three, namely, large cushions,

[1] Name of a sort of house which is said to be a house shaped like a garuḍa bird.

divans, and mattresses but not to lie down upon them. The bhikkhus are allowed to appoint a bhikkhu possessed of five qualifications as an apportioner of lodging places. They are allowed the use of stuffed couches after having broken off the legs. There are rules authorising the fraternity to place a vihāra in charge of an individual monk temporarily while it is under construction. The bhikkhus are allowed to barter either of these things in order to increase the stock of legally permissible furniture. They are allowed to appoint a bhikkhu as distributor of lodging places.

There are regulations as to the duties of the bhikkhus towards one another. If the resident bhikkhu be senior, he ought to be saluted ; if junior he ought to be made to salute (the incomer). If a vihāra be unoccupied, he ought to knock at the door, then to wait a minute, then to undo the bolt, and open the door and then still standing outside, to look within. If the vihāra is covered with cobwebs, they should first be removed with a cloth. If the cell or the storeroom or the refectory, or the room where the fire is kept, or the privy, is covered with dust, it should be swept out. If there is no drinking water, or water for washing, they should be provided. If there is no water in the rinsing-pot, water should be poured in. The bhikkhus are allowed to leave the hall, if necessary, after informing the bhikkhu sitting immediately next. The bhikkhus are allowed to recite the Pātimokkha to the bhikkhus. They are allowed to tell bhikkhunīs how to recite the Pātimokkha. They must tell bhikkhunīs how they should confess their faults. They are allowed to receive the confession of a fault from bhikkhunīs. A bhikkhunī is not to wear robes that are all of a blue, light yellow, crimson, black, brownish-yellow or dark yellow colour.

A bhikkhunī is not to assault a bhikkhu.

The bhikkhus are to take seats according to seniority.

The bhikkhus are allowed the use of a carriage which is given to a sick bhikkhunī. A bhikkhunī is not to adopt the forest life. The bhikkhus are allowed the use of a stable. A separate residence for bhikkhunīs is allowed. The building operations are to be carried on for the benefit of the bhikkhunīs. Certain places are assigned to live in to individual members of the Order. Bhikkhunīs are not to bathe in a steam bath. A bhikkhunī is not to bathe at a place which is not a common bathing place. She is not to bathe at a bathing place used by men. She is not to bathe against the stream.

Bhikkhunīs and therīs were exempted from all sorts of punishment for any offence committed before entering the Order. Once a Licchavi wife committed adultery. Her husband resolved to kill her, so she went to Sāvatthī and succeeded in getting herself ordained by a bhikkhunī. Her husband came to Sāvatthī, saw her ordained, and complained to King Pasenadi of Kosala. He also informed the King that his wife had become a bhikkhunī. The King said that as she had become a bhikkhunī, no punishment could be inflicted on her (Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga, Saṁghādisesa, II, Vinaya Piṭaka, Vol. IV, p. 225).

Conditions for entering the Order.

There were eight conditions on which a woman could enter the Order. The conditions are as follows :—

(1) A bhikkhunī even if she is of a hundred years standing shall pay respects to a new bhikkhu.

(2) A bhikkhunī must not spend the lent in a district in which there is no bhikkhu.

(3) Every half month a bhikkhunī must ask the bhikkhusaṁgha as to the date of the Uposatha ceremony, and the time when the bhikkhu will come to give the exhortation.

(4) After the expiry of the lent, a bhikkhunī is to hold Pavāraṇā (to enquire whether any fault can be laid to her charge) before both the bhikkhu and the bhikkhunīsaṁghas in respect of what she has seen, heard, or thought of.

(5) A bhikkhuṇī is to undergo the mānatta discipline towards both the Saṁghas, if any serious offence is committed.

(6) A bhikkhuṇī shall ask for upasampadā from both the Saṁghas after she has learnt six precepts for two years.

(7) A bhikkhuṇī must not abuse or speak ill of any bhikkhu.

(8) A bhikkhuṇī must not talk with a bhikkhu but a bhikkhu can give instructions to a bhikkhuṇī (Vinaya Piṭaka, Vol. II, p. 255).

The rules for the guidance of a bhikkhuṇīsaṁgha.

The bhikkhuṇīsaṁgha has several rules which the bhikkhuṇīs are required to abide by. The rules, as will be evident from their character, are very strict. They are as follows :—

(1) A bhikkhuṇī must not collect more than one alms bowl in a vihāra.

(2) A thing asked for by a bhikkhuṇī from any upāsaka or upāsikā cannot be taken in exchange for another thing.

(3) The thing given to a bhikkhuṇī for a purpose must be used by her for that purpose only.

(4) A bhikkhuṇī cannot ask for anything, the value of which is more than 16 kahāpaṇas from any person although she is requested by the person to ask for something from him.

(5) She must not take any white onion.

(6) She must not accept paddy.

(7) She should not throw impurities on the road through the window and also in the field.

(8) She should not attend to dancing, singing, and instrumental music.

(9) She should not talk with any person alone in the dark.

(10) She should not sit and talk with any man in a covered place.

(11) She should not do so even in moonlight by sitting on the meadow when there are no other persons.

(12) She should not talk with any man alone

in the public street or cross roads where there are crows.

(13) She should not go away from the house where she gets her food daily without taking permission from the head of the house.

(14) She should not sit or lie down in a house where she enters in the afternoon without taking permission from the head of the house.

(15) She cannot curse anybody.

(16) She cannot take her bath being naked.

(17) Two bhikkhuṇīs cannot lie on the same bed and cannot cover their bodies with the same covering.

(18) If a bhikkhuṇī fall ill, the companion bhikkhuṇī should nurse her or cause her to be nursed by others.

(19) A bhikkhuṇī should not drive out or cause to be driven out another bhikkhuṇī to whom she has given shelter.

(20) She should not associate herself with a householder or householder's son.

(21) She should walk about with weapons within her own country in times of fear of robbers, dacoits, and other wicked persons.

(22) During the lent she must not travel from place to place.

(23) After lent she must not stay in the vihāra.

(24) A bhikkhuṇī must not go to see a palace, royal-garden, picture-gallery, pleasure-garden, garden-tank having beautiful flowers, etc.

(25) She must not enjoy a valuable couch or a beautiful bedstead.

(26) She must not serve a householder.

(27) She must not give food with her own hands to a householder, a paribbājaka or a paribbājikā.

(28) She must not leave her dwelling place without placing it in charge of any other bhikkhuṇī.

(29) She must not learn any art for her livelihood.

(30) She must not teach any art to anybody.

(31) She must not enter any hermitage where a bhikkhu dwells not having taken the necessary permission.

(32) She must not abuse a bhikkhu.

(33) She must not take food beforehand when invited to take food in another's place.

(34) She must not be attached to any particular family.

(35) She must not spend the lent in a hermitage having no bhikkhu.

(36) She must go to take instructions from a bhikkhu.

(37) She must not make any female her disciple who has not received her parents' consent to give up household life.

(38) She must not go in a conveyance when fit.

(39) She must not put on ornaments and take her bath in perfumed water.

(40) She must not take her seat in the presence of a bhikkhu without his permission.

(41) She must not put any question without taking the bhikkhu's permission.

(42) She is prohibited from going out alone at night.

(43) The bhikkhuṇīs should learn the precepts common to the bhikkhus and bhikkhuṇīs, and the precepts specially meant for the bhikkhuṇīs should be learnt by the bhikkhuṇīs (Vinaya Piṭaka, II, p. 258).

(44) The bhikkhuṇīs should not wilfully touch the bodies of laymen. They are also prohibited to touch the bodies of the bhikkhus with lustful thoughts (Vinaya Piṭaka, IV, pp. 220-221).

(45) In all assemblies where there is a sāmaṇerī or a bhikkhuṇī, the Pātimokkha should not be recited and also in the Pavāraṇā ceremony (V.P., I, p. 167).

The Vinaya Piṭaka informs us that a robe once given to a bhikkhuṇī should not be taken back (Vol. IV, p. 247).

The bhikkhuṇīs should not be saluted by the bhikkhus (V.P., II, pp. 257-258).

The bhikkhuṇīs should not help a bhikkhuṇī who is excommunicated by the Saṁgha.

Violation of Order.

A bhikkhuṇī who knowingly hides any pārājikā offence of any other bhikkhuṇī, is also guilty of pārājikā.

If a bhikkhuṇī follows a bhikkhu excommunicated by the bhikkhusaṁgha, she will be guilty of pārājikā.

A bhikkhuṇī cannot bring any suit against any householder, or householder's son, slave, employee, even samaṇa or paribbājaka. If she does so, she will be guilty of Saṁghādisesa offence.

If a person with evil motive sends presents to any bhikkhuṇī and if she knowingly accepts them, the bhikkhuṇī will be guilty of Saṁghādisesa offence.

Buddha's prediction on the effect of the admittance of women into Order.

"If, Ānanda, women had not received permission to go out from the household life and enter the homeless state, under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathāgata,[1] then would the pure religion, Ānanda, have lasted long, the good law would have stood fast for a thousand years. But since, Ānanda, women have now received that permission, the pure religion, Ānanda, will not now last long, the good law will now stand fast for only five hundred years. Just, Ānanda, as houses in which there are many women and but few men are easily violated by robbers or burglars, just so, Ānanda, under whatever doctrine and discipline women are allowed to go out from the household life into the homeless state, that religion will not last long. And just, Ānanda, as when the disease called mildew falls upon a field of rice in fine condition, that field of rice does

[1] It means one who has trodden the right path. *Vide* Lord Chalmers, Tathāgata, J.R.A.S., 1898, 391 foll. It is indeed an useful article. See also Prof. Walleser's learned article of the Tathāgata published in the Journal, Taisho II

not continue long; just so, Ānanda, under whatsoever doctrine and discipline women are allowed to go forth from the household life into the homeless state, that religion will not last long. And just, Ānanda, as when the disease called blight falls upon a field of sugar-cane in good condition, that field of sugar-cane does not continue long; just so, Ānanda, under whatsoever doctrine and discipline women are allowed to go forth from the household life into the homeless state, that religion does not last long. And just, Ānanda, as a man would in anticipation build an embankment to a great reservoir, beyond which the water should not overpass; just even so, Ānanda, have I in anticipation laid down eight chief rules for the bhikkhunīs, their life long not to be overpassed (Vinaya Texts, S.B.E., pt. III, pp. 325-326).

Buddha's prediction was fulfilled when many troubles arose on account of the frequent meetings between the bhikkhus and the bhikkhunīs, and the bhikkhunīs and the lay people as we find in the case of Thullanandā and Dabba the Mallian, and also Abhirūpanandā and Sāḷho, grandson of Migāra, the banker of Sāvatthī (Vinaya Piṭaka, IV, p. 211).

(3) The Parivārapāṭha is a digest of the other parts of the Vinaya and consists of nineteen chapters. It appears to be of later origin, being probably the work of a Ceylonese monk. It is a manual of instruction in the Vinaya Piṭaka. In some stanzas which are found at the end of the Parivārapāṭha, it is stated to have been composed by "the highly wise, learned, and skilful Dīpa, after he had inquired here and there into the methods (literally the way) followed by former teachers."[1] "It is a very interesting bit of evidence," says Rhys Davids, "on early methods of education." Readers are referred to the introduction to the Vinaya Texts

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[1] Pubbācariyamaggañ ca pucchitvā va tahiṁ tahim Dīpa nāma mahāpañño sutadharo vicakkhano imaṁ vitthārasaṁkhepaṁ sajjhāmaggena majjhime cintayitvā likhāpesi sissakānaṁ sukhāvahaṁ (Vinaya Piṭaka, Vol. V, p. 226).

translated from the Pāli by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg. The introduction is a learned review of the whole of the Vinaya Texts.

(4) The Pātimokkha (vide *ante* in the section on the Suttavibhaṅga).

In the Colombo Museum the following manuscripts are available :—

1. Pārājika (Burmese and Sinhalese characters).
2. Pācittiya (Burmese and Sinhalese characters).
3. Mahāvagga (Burmese and Sinhalese characters).
4. Cullavagga (Burmese and Sinhalese characters).
5. Parivārapāṭha (Burmese and Sinhalese characters).

Khuddakasikkhā and Mūlasikkhā which are the mediæval compendiums of the Vinaya have been edited by E. Muller in the J.P.T.S., 1883. They are mostly in verse, a few passages being given in prose. It is difficult to say anything about the date of these works. The language is more modern than that of the Mahāvaṁsa. It deals with the four pārājikās, monk's garments, pavāraṇā festival, alms-bowl, pācitti, kamma, kāyabandhana, requisites of a monk, instructions, uposatha ceremony, suddhi, etc.

SECTION II.—SUTTA PIṬAKA

As the Vinaya Piṭaka is the best source of information relating to the ancient Buddhist Order and the monk-life, so also is the Sutta Piṭaka or "the Basket of Discourses", the main source for the Doctrine of the Buddha as expounded in argument and dialogues and also for that of his earliest disciples. The Sutta Piṭaka contains prose dialogues, legends, pithy sayings, and verses. It contains, in prose and verse, the most important

products of Buddhist literature grouped in five collections named nikāyas. The first four of these consists of suttas or discourses which are either speeches of the Buddha or dialogues in prose occasionally diversified by verses. These four are cognate and homogeneous in character. A number of suttas reappear in two or more of them. There is little difference in the doctrines they contain. The same mode of discussion prevails in these nikāyas.

The Sutta Piṭaka is divided into five nikāyas, 1. Dīgha, 2. Majjhima, 3. Saṁyutta, 4. Aṅguttara, and 5. Khuddaka.

A. Dīgha Nikāya

The Dīgha Nikāya[1] or Dīghāgama or Dīgha Saṁgaha is the first book of the Sutta Piṭaka and is a collection of long discourses. It is divided into three parts, (i) Sīlakkhandha, (ii) Mahāvagga, and (iii) Pātheya or Pāṭikavagga. It contains thirty-four suttas, each of which deals fully with one or several points of Buddhist doctrine. The first of these suttas is called the Brahmajāla Sutta which may be translated as the 'excellent net'. Prof. Rhys Davids explains it as the 'perfect net' or the net whose meshes are so fine that no folly

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[1] The P.T.S. editions, Vols. I and II by T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter and Vol. III by J. E. Carpenter; Dīgha Nikāya published by W. A. Samarasekara, Colombo, 1904.

The Chinese Dīrghāgama Sūtra is to be compared with the Pāli text of the Dīgha Nikāya, collection of long suttas, 34 in number.

The following six sūtras included in the Dīrghāgama Sūtra [the sūtra: on the four castes, on the Ekottara (-dharma), on the Trirāsi (-dharma), on (the city) O—tho—i (?), on the pureness of practice, and on the record of the world] seem not to be given in the Pāli text, or at least with different titles. At the same time, the following ten suttas seem to be left out in the Dīrghāgama Sūtra: Mahāli Suttanta, Jāliya Suttanta, Subha Sutta, Mahāsudassana Sutta (this is, however, found in the Chinese Madhyamāgama Sūtra), Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta, Pāṭika Sutta, Aggañña Suttanta, Pāsādika Sutta, Lakkhaṇa Suttanta, and Āṭānāṭiya Sutta (see Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, pp. 135–138).

of superstition, however subtle, can slip through.[1] Be it noted that in the Sutta itself the Buddha is represented as suggesting other alternative titles such as atthajāla, dhammajāla, diṭṭhijāla, anuttarasaṁgāmavijaya. The incidents to which this sutta owes its origin, are interesting from the standpoint of philosophy and may be narrated here. Suppiya was a disciple of Sañjaya, the paribbājaka. He followed the Buddha with his pupil, Brahmadatta. On the way Suppiya was speaking ill of the Buddha while his pupil, Brahmadatta, was praising him. The conversation held between Suppiya and his pupil gave rise to the occasion for the entire discourse.

The Brahmajāla Sutta[2] (*Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. I, pp.* 1–46) is very important in the history of

Read "The Relation of the Chinese Āgamas to the Pāli Nikāyas" (correspondence, J.R.A.S., 1901) by Dr. Anesaki—The materials of both are much the same but the arrangement is different. The author has cited the following comparisons, e.g. Kosalasaṁyutta, Mārasaṁyutta, Bhikkhunīsaṁyutta, Vaṅgīsasaṁyutta. The Mahāparinibbāna, which is the 16th suttanta in the Pāli Dīgha, is the 2nd in the Chinese. The names mentioned in the Chinese remind us of some of the scriptures mentioned in the Asokan inscriptions. *Vide* also "The Chinese Nikāyas" by A. J. Edmonds, published in the Buddhist Manual of Ceylon, 1931.

Read R. O. Franke, Die gāthās des Dīghanikāya neit ihren parallelen; K. E. Neumann, Reden Gotamo Buddha's aus der langeren sammlung Dīgha Nikāya des Pāli-Kanons übers, Bd. I, II. München, 1907, 1912; Buddhist Suttas, S.B.E., XI. This work has been translated into English by T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids under the title of the Dialogues of the Buddha (Sacred Books of the Buddhists). *Vide* Ch. Akanuma-Kanyaku agon to Pālinikāya no taisho (comparison entre les Āgamas chinois et les Nikāyas pāli). This book contains a comparative catalogue of Chinese Āgamas and Pāli Nikāyas. It is no doubt a laborious production and should be often consulted. *Vide* my paper on "*A Study of the Dīgha Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka*" published in the Young East, Volume IV, No. 4, September, 1928.

[1] Rhys Davids, Buddhism, its History and Literature (American Lectures on the history of religions).

[2] In Pāli sutta and suttanta are the same (Suttam eva suttanto). It means a thread, string, a dialogue, a discourse, a rule, or an aphorism. Certain portions or chapters of the Buddhist scriptures are called suttas. They may be either in verse or in prose and vary in length. A sutta is complete in itself consisting of

Buddhism. It explains the sīlas or moral precepts in three successive sections:—Cūla (the concise), majjhima (the medium length), and mahā (elaborate).[1] It further deals with the various types of current philosophical views, e.g. Sassatavādā[2] (eternalism of the world and the soul maintained on four grounds), Ekaccasassata and Ekaccasassatavādā (semi-eternalism—eternalism of something and non-eternalism of something maintained on four grounds), antānanta (extentionism), amarā-vikkhepa (eel-wrigglers), adhicca-samuppāda (fortuitous origination), uddhamāghātana (condition of soul after death), ucchedavāda (annihilationism), and diṭṭhadhamma-nibbāna-vādā (the doctrine of happiness in the present life).[3] The sections dealing with the sīlas throw much light on the various conditions of life, arts, handicrafts, sports, pastimes, different kinds of sacrifices, different occupations of the people, development of astronomy and astrology, arithmetic, accountancy, royal polity, medicine, surgery, architecture, palmistry (aṅgaṁ), divining by means of omens and signs (nimittaṁ), fortune-telling from marks of the body (lakkhaṇaṁ), counting on the figures (muddā), counting without using the figures (gaṇanā), summing up large totals (saṅkhānaṁ), sophistry (lokāyata), practising as an occultist (sālākiyaṁ), practising as a surgeon (sallakattikaṁ), fixing a lucky day for marriage or giving in marriage (āvāhanaṁ vivāhanaṁ), fixing a lucky time for the conclusion of treaties

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a connected narrative or a collection of verses on one subject. Some of them are didactic and consist mainly or wholly of a discourse of Buddha in prose or verse.

[1] These terms have been explained by Rhys Davids as (1) short paragraphs on conduct, (2) the longer paragraphs on conduct, and (3) long paragraphs on conduct.—Dialogues of the Buddha.

[2] *Vide* my Historical Gleanings, p. 33.

[3] Among the Jains, there are similar schools of thought, e.g. Ātmaṣaṣṭhavādins, Tajjīvataccharīravādins, Nāstikavādins, Śunyavādins, Sātavādins and Ājivikas, besides the Kiriyāvādins, the Akriyāvādins, the Ajñānavādins, and the Vinayavādins. *Vide* Dr. Barua's Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, pp. 282 foll., 295, 303, 306, 318 foll., 332 foll.

and for the outbreak of hostilities (saṁvadanaṁ vivadanaṁ), auguries drawn from thunderbolts and other celestial portents (uppādaṁ), prognostication by interpreting dreams (supinaṁ), sacrificing to Agni (aggi-homaṁ), looking at the knuckles (aṅga-vijjā), etc., and after muttering a charm to divine whether a man is well born or lucky or not, determining a proposed site for a house which would be lucky or not (vatthu-vijjā), advising on customary law (khatta vijjā), laying ghosts (bhūta vijjā), knowledge of the charm to be used when lodging in an earth house (bhuri vijjā), foretelling the number of years that a man has yet to live (pakkhajjhānaṁ), using charms to procure abortion (viruddha-gabbha karanaṁ), incantations to bring on dumbness (jivhā-nittaddanaṁ), keeping a man's jaws fixed by charms (hanusaṁhananaṁ), and fixing on lucky sites for dwellings and consecrating sites (vatthu kammaṁ vatthu parikiranaṁ). This sutta tells us of two classes of gods, the Khiḍḍā-padosikā and the Manopadosikā. Both these classes are of a rather low order. Thus the Buddha says that the Khiḍḍāpadosikā gods spend their time in laughing, playing, and enjoying sensual pleasures. For this reason they lose control over their mind, as a result of which they fall down from their position and are reborn in the human world. Of the second class, the Buddha says that they think much of one another. In consequence of excessive thinking their mind becomes polluted and on account of pollution of their mind they fall down from that situation and are reborn in the human world.

The world of radiance (ābhassaraloka) described in this suttanta is one of the higher brahmalokas.

This suttanta tells us that at the beginning of a new world system a being falls from the ābhassaraloka on account of loss of life or merit and he is reborn in the brahmavimāna which is then empty, and there he dwells with his mental body, living in joy, having a lustrous body and

moving in the sky. The Buddha relates later on in the same suttanta that this God who is first reborn in the brahmavimāna is the Great Brahmā; he considers himself superior to the other ābhassaradevas.

Rhys Davids rightly points out that this suttanta sets out in sixty-two divisions various speculations or theories in which theorisers, going out always from various forms of the ancient view of a 'soul'—a sort of subtle manikin inside the body but separate from it and continuing, after it leaves the body as a separate entity—attempt to reconstruct the past or to arrange the future. All such speculation is condemned. It is certain from the details given in this suttanta that there were then current in Northern India many other philosophic and theosophic speculations besides those the priests found it expedient to adopt and have preserved for us in the Upanishads. (Dialogues of the Buddha, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Introduction to the Brahmajāla Sutta.) This sutta really deals with the most fundamental conceptions that lay at the root of the Buddha's doctrine, his Dharma, his ethical and philosophical views of life.

The second is the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* (*Dīgha, I, pp.* 47–86) or 'Discourse on the reward of Buddhist mode of holy life'. This sutta discusses the following topics:—joy and seclusion, freedom and safety, miracle, the divine ear, memory of one's own former births, knowledge of the other people's former births, etc. This suttanta says that Mahāvīra, the celebrated founder of Jainism, is said to have laid great stress on the four-fold self-restraints (cātuyāmasamvara). A short and malicious fragment in this sutta tells us that Gosāla divides actions into act, word, and thought: thought being regarded as half karma.

The Buddha was staying at Rājagaha in the mango grove of Jīvaka with many bhikkhus. On a full-moon night Ajātasattu of Magadha asked

his ministers as to which Śramaṇa or Brāhmaṇa should be approached or worshipped to pacify the troubled mind. Followers of five heretical teachers who were present there advised the king to visit their preceptors but Jīvaka advised him to see the Buddha. Ajātaśatru (Ajātasattu) acted according to the advice of Jīvaka. The Magadhan monarch was converted to the Buddhist faith and made considerable progress in his spiritual insight but on account of his great sin of killing his father he could not attain even the first stage of sanctification. So, like the Brahmajāla, the Sāmaññaphala Sutta creates a psychological situation in the garb of a historical narrative which is guilty of an anachronism in so far as it represents all of the six teachers as persons who could be interviewed by King Ajātasattu. It should be further noted that the literary art of this sutta was plagiarized later on in the Milinda Pañha. Rhys Davids in his introduction to the Sāmaññaphala Sutta[1] says that this suttanta puts forth Buddha's justification for the foundation of the Order, for the enunciation of the Vinaya, the practical rules of the canon law by which life in the Order is regulated. The list of ordinary occupations given in this suttanta is interesting evidence of social conditions in the Ganges valley at the time of the composition of the Dīgha Nikāya. The list is briefly as follows:—elephant riders (hatthārohā), cavalry (assārohā), charioteers (rathikā), archers (dhanuggahā), slaves (dāsaka puttā), cooks (āḷārikā), barbers (kappakā), bath-attendants (nahāpakā), confectioners (sudā), garland-makers (mālākārā), washermen (rajakā), weavers (pesa-kārā), basket-makers (naḷakārā), and potters (kumbhakārā). And the introductory story in which the king explains how he had put a similar question to the founders of six other orders and gives the six replies he received, is interesting evidence of

[1] T. W. Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, S.B.B., Vol. II.

the views held by the authors of the Dialogue as to the beliefs current at the time. The answer which the Buddha is represented to have given to the question raised by the king takes the form of a counter-question. The king confesses that he would treat a person who has joined the Order as one worthy of honour and respect. The Buddha shows the advantages of the life of a recluse not necessarily of a follower of his own. And most of what he says would apply as much to his strongest opponents as to the members of his Order. This suttanta only purports to set forth the advantages the early Buddhists held to be the likely results of joining, from whatever motive, such an order as their own. This suttanta also states Gosāla's main thesis rather narrowly when it says that fools and wise alike wandering in transmigration make an end of pain (sandhāvitvā saṁsaritvā dukkhas-santaṁ karissanti).

The third is the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* (*Dīgha, I, pp.* 87–110) which deals mainly with the subject of caste. This sutta cannot, however, be safely utilized as a source for the study of castes in Ancient India. It appears from the manner of interrogation and rejoinder (between the Buddha and Ambaṭṭha, a brahmin youth) that the compilers of this sutta have made a fool of Ambaṭṭha. Ambaṭṭha is versed in the three Vedas and the Buddha is an 'Incomparable Religious Teacher'. But Ambaṭṭha's replies to the Buddha's questions and the Buddha's clenching the arguments are not at all convincing. This is for two reasons. Either the followers of the Buddha purposely made a fool of Ambaṭṭha so that the Master would shine by contrast or that some intervening portions in this sutta have been omitted carelessly. Moreover we do not know the other side of the question, that is to say, what the Brāhmaṇas have got to say on the point. It is to be borne in mind, however, that the Brahmanical books give preference to the Brāhmaṇas over the Kṣatriyas and in the Buddhist and Jain records

Khattiyas are given precedence over the Brāhmaṇas. So the relative position of both is a point of controversy. There are also discussions on the pride of birth, asceticism, and luxury of brahmins. We learn from this sutta that a young brahmin named Ambaṭṭha who went to Kapilavastu on business had an opportunity of visiting the motehalls of the Sākyas where he saw the young and the old seated on grand seats.

It is sufficiently evident, as Prof. Rhys Davids points out in his introduction to the Ambaṭṭha Sutta,[1] from the comparative frequency of the discussions on the matter of Brahman pretensions that the subject of caste was a burning question at the time of the composition of the nikāyas. No other social problem is referred to so often; and the Brāhmaṇas would not be so often represented as expressing astonishment or indignation at the position taken up regarding it by the early Buddhists unless there had really been a serious difference on the subject between the two schools. But the difference, though real, has been gravely misunderstood. Rhys Davids further remarks that the disastrous effects from the ethical, social, and political points of view of these restrictions and of caste as a whole have been often grossly exaggerated and the benefits of the system ignored. We are entirely unwarranted in supposing the system, as it now exists, to have been in existence also at the time when Buddhism arose in the valley of the Ganges. Our knowledge of the actual facts of caste even as it now exists, is still confused and inaccurate. The theories put forward to explain the facts are loose and irreconcilable. There was a common phrase current among the people which divided all the world into four vaṇṇā (colours or complexions)—Khattiyā, Brāhmaṇā, Vessā, and Suddā. The priests put themselves first and had a theological legend in support of their contention.

[1] Dialogues of the Buddha, S.B.B., Vol. II.

But it is clear from the piṭakas that this was not admitted by the nobles. And it is also clear that no one of these divisions was a caste. There was neither connubium nor commensality between all the members of one vaṇṇa nor was there a governing council for each. The fourth was distinguished from the other by social position. And though in a general rough way the classification corresponded to the actual facts of life, there were insensible gradations within the four classes, and the boundary between them was both variable and undefined (cf. Vāseṭṭha Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta, Madhura Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya dealing with the subject of caste. Dr. Fick has collected the evidence found in the Jātaka book in his work, "*Die Sociale Gliederung im Nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddhas zeit*"). The theory of caste or jāti easily breaks down when we see that a Brahmin and a Caṇḍāla do not differ in their physical constitution and can procreate children. In the Vāseṭṭha Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta the Buddha opposes the caste system on grounds drawn from biology. The theory of caste is untenable as it introduces species within species. Buddha gives a list of species of various animals, insects, and plants and holds that such a variety of species is not to be found among men (cf. Sutta Nipāta, Verse 14).

The fourth is the *Sonadaṇḍa Sutta* (*Dīgha, I, pp.* 111–126) which deals with the question of what constitutes the essential quality which makes a man a Brāhmaṇa. This sutta informs us that a brahmin is he who is well born on both sides, of pure descent, through the father and through the mother, back through seven generations, with no slur put upon him, and no reproach in respect of birth—a repeater of the sacred words, knowing the mystic verses by heart, one who has mastered the three Vedas (tiṇṇaṁ vedānaṁ pāragu) with the indices (sa nighaṇ-ḍu-ketubhānaṁ), the ritual, the phonology, and the exegesis, and with the legends as a fifth, one who is learned in the etymolo-

gies of the words and in the grammar, versed in lokāyata (nature-lore or sophistry), and in the theory of the signs on the body of a great man (mahāpurisalakkhaṇesu anavayo).

The man who knows, says Prof. Rhys Davids, wisdom and conduct (wisdom in the sense of that which is contrary of avijjā or ignorance of the action of Karma, of the Four Noble Truths, and of the doctrine of the āsavas or intoxications), who finally and permanently out of the jungle and in the open, quite beyond the stage of wasting his wonder on the fabulous soul, has attained to, and remains in this state of Nirvāṇa in Arahatship, is not only in Buddhist terminology called a Brāhmaṇa but is, in fact, declared to be the only true brahmin. Rhys Davids is right in pointing out that the doctrine of brahmin supremacy was intellectually indefensible. It was really quite inconsistent with the ethical standard of the time, which the brahmins in common with the rest of the people fully acknowledged (see introduction to the Sonadaṇḍa Sutta in the Dialogues of the Buddha by Rhys Davids, S.B.B., Vol. II). As to the characteristics of a true brahmin we can refer to the Brāhmaṇavagga of the Dhammapada, the Vāseṭṭha Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta, the Brahmāyu Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya, the Brāhmaṇa Saṁyutta of the Saṁyutta Nikāya, the Jānussoni Sutta of the Aṅguttara Nikāya, the 99th sutta of the Itivuttaka, and so forth. "It is clear", says Rhys Davids, "that the word 'Brahmin' in the opinion of the early Buddhists conveyed to the minds of the people an exalted meaning, a connotation of real veneration and respect". He further says that if the contention of the Buddhists had been universally accepted, that is to say, if the word 'brahmin' had come to mean not only a man of certain descent, but exclusively a man of certain character and insight, then the present caste system of India could never have grown up. There is much grain of truth in what Rhys Davids

says that the caste system was gradually built up into a completely organized system. The social supremacy of the brahmins by birth became accepted as an incontrovertible fact. And the inflood of the popular superstition which overwhelmed the Buddhist movement, overwhelmed also the whole pantheon of the Vedic gods. Buddhism and Brahmanism alike passed practically away and modern Hinduism arose on the ruins of both (Dialogues of the Buddha, S.B.B., Vol. II, p. 142).

The fifth is the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* (*Dīgha, I, pp.* 127–149) in which the Buddha in discussing right and wrong modes of sacrifices suggests a gradation of them according to the superior and inferior spiritual values. Kūṭadanta spoke to the brahmins about the qualities of the Buddha. He went to the Master, listened to his religious instructions, and became a devoted lay supporter of the Buddha. It is interesting to note what Rhys Davids says on this suttanta. Whoever puts this sutta together must have been deeply imbued with the spirit of subtle irony that plays no lesser part in the suttas than it does in so many of the Jātakas. Rhys Davids attaches great importance to the right understanding of early Buddhist teaching, of a constant appreciation of this sort of subtle humour. He says it is a kind of fun quite unknown to the West. The humour is not at all intended to raise a laugh scarcely even a smile. In this suttanta the brahmin Kūṭadanta is very likely meant to be rather the hero of a tale than an historical character. Buddha was approached for advice about the modes of the ritual to be performed at the sacrifice and about the requisite utensils, the altar-furniture to be used in making it. The brahmin of this suttanta wants to know the three modes in which the ritual is to be performed. The three modes are declared in the legend to be simply three conditions of mind or rather one condition of mind at three different times, the

harbouring of no regret either before or during or after the sacrifice at the expenditure involved. It is the hearty co-operation with the king of four divisions of his people, the nobles, the officials, the brahmins, and the householders. That makes four articles of furniture. And eight personal qualifications of the king himself. That makes other eight. And four personal qualifications of his advising brahmins make up the total of the sixteen articles required. No living thing, either animal or vegetable, is injured. All the labour is voluntary. And all the world co-operates in adding its share to the largesse of food, on strict vegetarian principles, in which, alone, the sacrifice consists. It is offered on behalf, not only of the king himself, but of all the good. In the opinion of Rhys Davids, this sutta is merely the oldest extant expression, in so thorough and uncompromising a way, of an ancient and widely held trend of opinion. On this occasion as on the question of caste or social privileges, the early Buddhists took up, and pushed to its logical conclusions, a rational view held also by others. For a detailed discussion of lokāyata or casuistry, readers are referred to Rhys Davids' introduction to the Kūṭadanta Sutta (Dialogues of the Buddha, S.B.B., Vol. II, pp. 166 ff.).

It is to be noted that the view involved in this suttanta is in some respects similar to the idea which we find in the Vedas and Upanishads, especially the Chāndogya.

The sixth is the *Mahāli Sutta* (*Dīgha, I, pp.* 150–158) which deals with the means of the attainment of divine eye and ear. It contains discussions whether body and soul are same or different. While the Buddha appreciates the mode of thinking which leads one to endorse one or the other opinion, he on his own part does not follow this mode of thinking at all. This sutta further narrates that Mahāli, a Licchavi, listened to the Buddha's discourse and rejoiced over it. Rhys Davids remarks in his introduction to the Mahāli

Sutta that the form of this sutta is remarkable. We have two distinct subjects discussed. First, the question of the ability to see heavenly sights and hear heavenly sounds being raised, the Buddha says that it is not for the sake of acquiring such powers that people join the Order under him. And being asked what their object then is, he gradually leads the questioner on to saintship (arhatship) as the aim, along the Eightfold Path. There the sutta might appropriately have ended. But the Buddha himself then raises a totally different question, whether the soul and the body are the same. And though he gives no answer, he leads the discourse again up to Arhatship, along the series of mental states set out in the Sāmaññaphala Sutta. This sutta contains only the sīlas in the second part. Rhys Davids gives us a list of eight different modes of speaking of or to a person :—(1) a nickname arising out of some personal peculiarity, (2) a personal name—this has got nothing to do with personal peculiarity, (3) the name of the gotra or a surname or family name, (4) name of the clan or the kulanāma, (5) name of the mother, (6) name of the position in society or the occupation of the person addressed, (7) a mere general term of courtesy or respect, and (8) local name. It is interesting to note that the name of the father is never used in this way.

The seventh is the *Jāliya Sutta* (*Dīgha, I, pp.* 159-160). This sutta like the preceding one contains a discussion on soul and body. Is the soul distinct from the body ? This is no doubt the most important problem involved in this sutta. Rhys Davids is right in pointing out that the Mahāli Sutta must have already included the Jāliya episode. For there would otherwise be no reason for the Mahāli Sutta being put into the Sīlakkhandha-vagga, the sīlas being contained only in that episode (S.B.B., Vol. II, Dialogues of the Buddha).

The eighth is the *Kassapasīhanāda Sutta* (*Dīgha, I, pp.* 161–177) which contains Buddha's discussion

with a naked ascetic regarding asceticism. The sutta alludes to certain peculiar practices of the naked ascetics which characterised the life of the ājīvikas and a general account of them is also found in this sutta. The same account is incorporated in the Aṅguttara Nikāya and other texts without any variation, which is a medley of laws and customs that obtained amongst the various religious orders of the time, most of which were weavers of garments. We are further informed that Kassapa went to the Buddha and exchanged friendly greetings with him. He afterwards became an Arahat. Regarding this suttanta, Rhys Davids remarks that there is both courtesy and dignity in the method employed. It is clear that at the time when this suttanta was put together, the practice of self-mortification had already been carried out to a considerable extent in India. No doubt in most cases the ascetics laid claim to special virtue. In the suttas dealing with the practices of ascetics, Gotama in laying stress on the more moderate view, takes occasion also to dispute this claim. He maintains in this suttanta that the insight and self-control and self-mastery of the path or of the system of intellectual and moral self-training laid down for the bhikkhu are really harder than the merely physical practices so much more evident to the eye of the vulgar.

The episode of Nigrodha mentioned in section 23 of this suttanta is described in full in the *Udumbarika-Sīhanāda Sutta* of the Dīgha Nikāya.

The ninth is the *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta* (*Dīgha, I, pp.* 178–203) which contains a discussion on the mastery of trance and incidentally deals with the question of soul. It further discusses about the infinity and eternalism of the world. When the Blessed One was at Jetavana in the ārāma of Anāthapiṇḍika, a paribbājaka named Poṭṭhapāda went to the ārāma of Mallikā with a large retinue of paribbājakas. The Master came to him and Poṭṭhapāda received him with due respect.

This sutta contains a list of topics discussed by the paribbājakas or wandering teachers, which is of great historical importance as indicating the manner in which they gradually paved the way for a science of polity in India (*vide* my Historical Gleanings, pp. 13 foll.).

Rhys Davids remarks that when the 'soul' was away the body lay still, without moving, apparently without life, in trance, or disease or sleep. When the 'soul' came back, motion began again, and life. Endless were the corollaries of a theory which, however, devoid of the essential marks of a sound scientific hypothesis, underlies every variety of early speculation in India, as elsewhere. In this suttanta it is, in the first place, the gradual change of mental conditions, of states of consciousness: and then, secondly, the point that personality, individuality is only a convenient expression in common use in the world and therefore made use of also by the Tathāgata but only in such a manner that he is not led astray by its ambiguity, and by its apparent implication of some permanent entity (S.B.B., Vol. II, pp. 241 and 243).

The tenth is the *Subha Sutta* (*Dīgha, I, pp.* 204–210) which is a short one and is almost identical with the Sāmaññaphala Sutta differing from it only in dividing the states of mind under three heads of sīla (conduct), samādhi (concentration), and paññā (wisdom). The chief reason for this suttanta being treated as a separate one is that samādhi includes the jhānas,[1] but also other and very different things. These are the habit of guarding the doors of one's senses; constant mindfulness and self-possession and the faculty of being content with little. From the negative point of view it is said to include emancipation from ill-temper, inertness of mind and body, worry and perplexity; from the positive point of view it is

[1] Mrs. Rhys Davids has ably discussed this topic in her recently published work, 'Sakya or Buddhist Origins', pp. 171 foll.

said to include a constant state of joy and peace (S.B.B., II, 205).

The eleventh is the *Kevaḍḍha Sutta* (*Dīgha, I, pp.* 211–223) which deals with the practice of wonders or miracles, and traces the means whereby the manifestation of gods gradually becomes clear to a self-concentrated man. Some of the heavens are referred to in this sutta, e.g. Cātummahārājika, Nimmānarati, Paranimmitavasavattī, and Brahmaloka.[1]

The twelfth is the *Lohicca Sutta* (*Dīgha, I, pp.* 224–234) which discusses some points on the ethics of teaching and enumerates three blameworthy teachers and the blameless teachers. It also lays stress on the duty of spreading the truth. This sutta further informs us that everyone should be allowed to learn; that everyone having certain abilities should be allowed to teach; and that, if he does teach he should teach all and to all, keeping nothing back, shutting no one out. But no man should take upon himself to teach others unless and until he has first taught himself, and has also acquired the faculty of imparting to others the truth he has learnt.

The thirteenth is the *Tevijja Sutta*[2] (*Dīgha, I, pp.* 235–253) in which the Buddha criticises the position of the Brāhmaṇas who based their religious life on the system of the three Vedas. This sutta speaks of the ten representative sages who were authors of the Vedic mantras, viz. Aṭṭhaka, Vāmaka, Vāmadeva, Vessāmitta, Aṅgirasa, Bharadvāja, Vāseṭṭha, Kassapa, Yamataggi, and Bhagu. The Buddha discusses the three vijjās of the Brāhmaṇas and explains the three vijjās of his own. In this sutta the Tathāgata[3] is highly praised. He is the

[1] *Vide* B. C. Law's Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, pp. 1-2.

[2] Translated into English by T. W. Rhys Davids in the S.B.E., Vol. XI.

[3] Mrs. Rhys Davids says that Tathāgata was a worthy name for one who had worked to help men as other men had done before him. It is like the word Messias. She further points out

most exalted, the Excellent, the Charioteer of mankind, the Charioteer of gods, the Buddha, and the Blessed One. A bhikkhu becomes pious by giving up life-slaughter and is restrained in killing animals.[1] The law has been well explained by Gotama in various ways. Buddhaghosa adds that because Manasākaṭa was a pleasant place, the brahmins built huts there on the bank of the river and fenced them in, and used to go and stay there from time to time to repeat their mantras (S.B.B., Vol. II, p. 300 f.n.). This sutta speaks of the union of men with Brahmā, but there Brahmā appears to stand more for *Brahma* of the Brahmanical system than Brahmā, the creator-god. *With this sutta ends the first volume of the Dīgha Nikāya.*

The fourteenth is the *Mahāpadāna Suttanta* (*Dīgha, II, pp.* 1–54). The word 'Apadāna' used in the title signifies legend or life-story of a Buddha.[2] It is also used as the title of the thirteenth book of the Khuddaka Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka and it means the legend or life-story of an Arahat. In later books, Apadāna is never used to mean the legend of a Buddha. The Mahāpadāna may mean the story of the Great Ones (Seven Buddhas). It is rendered into English by Rhys Davids as the sublime story. In laying down the general conditions of the advent of the Buddha, this suttanta introduces an account of the seven Buddhas by way of illustrations. But it is only the life of Vipassi, first of the seven previous Buddhas, which finds an elaborate treatment in it. It should be noted that the Cullaniddesa (p. 80) cites this suttanta as a typical instance of the earlier Jātakas. This sublime story

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"it was not a name of my duty. The name always comes up when men are honouring me for something I did not merit. It is the name given me by those 'Porāṇas' (men of old) who were a hundred years and more after my time. They honoured the man they knew had once been leader". (Gotama the man, p. 44.)

[1] bhikkhu pānātipātam pahāya pānātipātā paṭivirato hoti—Tevijja Sutta, Dīgha, Vol. I, p. 250.

[2] See Dr. B. C. Law's 'A Study of the Mahāvastu' (supplement), pp. 4–8—Jātaka and Avadāna or Apadāna contrasted.

in Pāli may be held in a way to be the historical basis of the Mahāvastu, the Book of the Great Story. Further, it may be seen that this suttanta interprets the term Pātimokkha not in the vigorous sense of a penal code of the monks but in a higher sense of ethical discipline attainable by the imitation of the lives of the Great Masters.

It is interesting to note what Prof. Rhys Davids says regarding this sutta. "We find in this tract the root of that Bīraṇa weed which, growing up along with the rest of Buddhism, went on spreading so luxuriantly that it gradually covered up much that was of virtue in the earlier teaching, and finally led to the downfall, in its home in India, of the ancient faith. The doctrine of the Bodhisatta, of the Wisdom-Being, drove out the doctrine of the Aryan Path. A gorgeous hierarchy of mythological wonder-workers filled men's minds, and the older system of self-training and self-control became forgotten." He further points out that even at its first appearance here the weed is not attractive. The craving for edification is more manifest in it than the desire for truth (Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. II, S.B.B., Vol. III, p. 1).

The fifteenth is the *Mahānidāna Suttanta*[1] (*Dīgha, II, pp.* 55–71) which explains fully the doctrine of paṭiccasamuppāda (dependent origination), and discusses soul, seven kinds of beings, and eight kinds of vimokkhas.[2] Besides, it treats of the cause of jāti (birth), jarā (old age), and maraṇa

[1] Cf. Nidāna Saṁyutta of the Saṁyutta Nikāya, pt. II, P.T.S. Ed.

[2] The eight vimokkhas or stages of emancipation are the following:—the condition of rūpa, arūpa, saññi (rūpi is nearly always combined and contrasted with arūpi formless, incorporeal) recognition of subha, realisation of ākāsānañcāyatana (infinity of space), of viññānānañcāyatana (infinitude of life-force or mind-matter), of ākiñcaññāyatana (realm or sphere of nothingness), of neva-saññānasaññāyatana (neither perception nor non-perception), of saññāvedayitanirodha (cessation of consciousness and sensation).

(death). In this suttanta we also read that Ānanda said to the Buddha, " It is strange that the Dharma which is deep and profound appears to me to be very easy." Buddha told Ānanda not to say so' and said that on account of ignorance and non-realisation of his Dharma, people were entangled in this world and could not overcome hell.

Prof. Rhys Davids is right in pointing out that the doctrine of paṭiccasamuppāda or dependent origination finds in this suttanta the fullest exposition accorded to it throughout the piṭakas. The Dīghabhāṇakas (reciters of long discourse) excluded the first two of the twelve nidānas (chapters), viz., avijjā (ignorance) and saṁkhāra (confections) and that in the Paccayākāra-vibhaṅga of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka the formula is reiterated and analysed with greater variety of presentation. But in this sutta the doctrinal contents are more fully worked out. Although the formula as expounded in this sutta ends in the usual way—' such is the uprising of the whole body of Ill ' the burden of the dialogue is in no way directly concerned with Ill, pain or sorrow. In certain other passages where the nidāna chain occurs, dukkha occupies the foreground (Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. II, p. 42, S.B.B., Vol. III).

The sixteenth is the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*[1] (*Dīgha, II, pp.* 72–168) which is one of the most important suttas as it furnishes us with a highly interesting historical narrative of the peregrenation

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[1] An English translation of this sutta by Childers has been published in J.R.A.S., 1876, New Series, Vols. 7 and 8. See also Tripiṭaka—J. Takakusu et K. Watanabe Ed. Taisho en Vol. 55. Japonaise du Tripiṭaka chinois en 100 volumes. M. Finot has contributed a paper on *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta and Cullavagga* to the Indian Historical Quarterly (June, 1932) in which he has collected several data which entitle us to suppose that the account of the councils of Rājagaha and Vesālī once formed the latter part of a larger historical work, which, at the time of the compilation of the Tripiṭaka, was severed into two sections, the former being converted into the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta and the latter annexed as *Capitula extravagantia* to the tenth Khandhaka of the Cullavagga.

of the Buddha during the last year of his mortal existence. The several sets of the conditions of welfare of a community taught by the Buddha to the mendicants bespeak the developed ideas of perfect organisations, in the history of social, political or religious thought at the time of Gautama Buddha.[1] The Pāli passages, clothing as they do, the Buddha's teachings, contain reiteration of certain words ; but the symphony of these repetitions does not make them an unpleasant reading. In the third chapter of the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, Buddha gives us a description of his visit to Vaisālī. The figurative expressions as used by the Buddha, according to Rhys Davids, have become a fruitful soil for the outgrown of superstitions and misunderstandings. The train of early Buddhist speculation in this field has yet to be elucidated (Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. II, p. 115, f.n. 2).

The sixth chapter of the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta records the most important of all events affecting the fate of Buddhism. In it we find the passing away of the Founder of the Faith. The wailings, described in Chapter V, of men and women of countries far and near on hearing that the Exalted One would pass away too soon, and the honour with which the relics of the Buddha were received and cairns made over them, as found in Chapter VI, go to show how deeply were the people moved by the preachings and personality of the Buddha. The last word of the Tathāgata, viz. "Decay is inherent in all component things: Work out your salvation with diligence" (vayadhammā saṁkhārā, appamādena sampādethāti, Dīgha Nikāya, P.T.S., Vol. II, p. 156), strikes the key-note of the Buddha's philosophy and mission.

This suttanta further deals with Vassakāra Brāhmaṇa's visit to the Buddha, seven conditions of welfare of the Bhikkhusaṁgha, lineage of faith, eight causes of earthquake, eight causes of subduing

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[1] Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. II, pp. 73–81.

others, Buddha's visit to Cunda, four places of pilgrimage of any faithful householder, efficiency of erecting dhātucaityas, former greatness of Kusīnārā, visit of Subhadra to Buddha and his conversation with the Lord, passing away of the Lord, homage of the Mallas, cremation of the Buddha's dead body, quarrel over the relics, the amicable distribution of relics by Doṇa and erecting the stūpas over them. It further narrates the fact that when the Blessed One heard that Ajātasattu of Magadha determined to approach the Vajjians, he remarked that so long as the Vajjians fulfilled the seven conditions of welfare, there would not be any danger for them. The Buddha then went to Ambalaṭṭhikā. Here there were talks about sīla, samādhi, etc. The Master then went to Nālandā where he stayed as long as he liked. Sāriputta met him here.

The upāsakas (lay disciples) of Pāṭaligāma received the Buddha cordially. The Buddha mentioned the five disadvantages for not observing the precepts by householders and also five advantages for observing precepts by householders. The Blessed One accepted the invitation of two ministers of Magadha, Sunīdha and Vassakāra, who fed him together with the assembly of monks. He then went to Koṭigāma and addressed the monks on the four Noble Truths. Further he proceeded to Nādikā where he dwelt at the Ginjakā abode. He then came to Vesālī where he accepted the invitation of the famous courtesan, Ambapālī. While the Buddha was passing through Vesālī on his way back from the alms-seeking, he gazed at Vesālī with an elephant look and then addressed the venerable Ānanda and said, "This will be the last time that the Tathāgata will behold Vesālī". Buddha then visited Veluva and the following Caityas, Udena, Gotama, Sattambaka, Bahuputtaka, Sārandada, and Cāpāla. At Bhaṇḍagāma the Buddha delivered a discourse on meditation, emancipation, precepts, wisdom, etc. He spoke of Dhamma and Vinaya. The Master dwelt at Bhoga-

nagara and then at Pāvā. Here at Pāvā the Master took shelter in the mango-grove of Cunda, the son of a blacksmith. Buddha accepted the invitation of Cunda and after having taken food at Cunda's place, he got an attack of dysentery. He then went to Kusīnārā, a township of the Mallas where the Buddha passed away between the twin sāla trees. As narrated before, as soon as the Mallas heard of the news of the death of the Tathāgata, they, both males and females, began to cry and paid homage to the departed. Kassapa saluted the feet of the Buddha whose relics were distributed amongst the Moriyas of Pipphalivana, Ajātasattu of Magadha, Licchavis of Vaiśālī, Sākyas of Kapilavastu, Bulis of Allakappa, Koliyas of Rāmagāma, a brahmin of Veṭhadīpa,[1] Mallas of Pāvā and Kusīnārā who built stūpas over them.

In this suttanta we are introduced to a renowned religious teacher named Āḷāda Kālāma[2] who had as his disciple a caravan merchant named Pukkusa, a young Mallian. Pukkusa used to speak highly of the spiritual attainments of his preceptor whose ecstatic trance, as declared by Pukkusa, was so very deep and profound that a long train of heavily laden carts passed by unperceived by him. The sutta also records that the inhabitants of Rāmagāma belonged to the serpent race. It further informs us that the Buddha mentions that the gods had their parisā or assemblies which are as

[1] In Beal's Si-Yu-Ki, Veṭhadīpa has been stated to be situated on the way from Masār in the Shahabad district to Vaiśalī. It may be assumed that Allakappa belonging to the Bulis lay not very far from Veṭhadīpa.

[2] Mrs. Rhys Davids in her learned and interesting work on *Gotama the man* ably points out that the Buddha esteemed the man but not his method. The Buddha admits that Āḷāra disappointed him (p. 26). She further says, "He is by some to-day in accordance with certain records reckoned to have been of the Sānkhyan school. He knew of its teachings but he did not teach them. He was a devotee of the very opposite practice to the clear, systematic thinking taught in that school—the practice of rapt musing called in the books, jhāna" (Gotama the man, p. 25).

follows:—assembly of the Cātummahārājika gods, the assembly of the Tāvatiṁsa gods, the assembly of Māra, and the assembly of Brahmā.

The seventeenth is the *Mahāsudassana Suttanta* (*Dīgha, II, pp.* 169–199). There is a Jātaka known as Mahāsudassana Jātaka (No. 95) in Fausboll's edition of the Jātakas, but it differs from the suttanta in some important particulars. The Sudassana story in a suttanta form finds mention in the Cullaniddesa (p. 80) as a typical example of the Jātakas then known to the Buddhists. "The suttanta commences with a long description of the riches and glory of Mahāsudassana and reveals in its details", says Rhys Davids, "the instructive fact that the legend is nothing more or less than a spiritualised sun-myth" (Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. II, p. 196). The Mahāsudassana Suttanta "seems to afford a useful example both of the extent to which the theory may be accepted, and of the limitations under which it should always be applied. It must at once be admitted that whether the whole story is based on sun-story, or whether certain parts or details of it are derived from things first spoken about the sun or not, it is still essentially Buddhistic" (Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. II, p. 197). The Mahāsudassana Suttanta is like a fairy tale which describes the greatest glory and majesty of the greatest king, the royal city and its palace of Righteousness. It describes the extent of his kingdom and his enjoyment. The object of this suttanta is perhaps to show that all is vanity except righteousness. This sutta also teaches us that everything is impermanent, that which has come into being must pass away. To attain this object the author had recourse to rhetorical phrases and other figurative expressions, the use whereof was not peculiar to Buddhist literature. M. Senart in his valuable work, "La Légende du Bouddha", has traced the rhetorical phrases used in the description of the seven treasures mentioned in this suttanta to their

earliest appearance in the Vedic hymns. But this does not exhaust the interesting bearing of Buddhist literature on the history of philosophy so far as Buddhist forms of speech are concerned.

The eloquent description in the Mahāsudassana Suttanta of the magnificence and lost glory of the ancient city Kusāvatī, the capital of King Sudassana, was a literary development in Pāli in the edification of the Buddha's explanations offered in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, for his choosing as the place for his passing away in a daub town like Kusīnārā of his day.

The eighteenth is the *Janavasabha Suttanta* (*Dīgha, II, pp.* 200–219) in which important topics, such as rebirths of the faithful upāsakas of Gautama, effect of name, great kings of four quarters, joy of the gods, the four ways of iddhi (miracle), the three ways of bliss, and the seven requisites of samādhi or concentration, have been mentioned. Prof. Rhys Davids says that after the prologue the story turns into a fairy tale, quite well told and very edifying and full of subtle humour. This sutta further refers to the Tāvatiṁsa gods, the gods of Paranimmita Vasavattī, Nimmānarati, Yāma, Cātummahārājika heavens, and the assembly of King Vessavana Kuvera. This suttanta further informs us that 24,00,000 upāsakas of Magadha obtained Sotāpattiphalaṁ (fruition of the first stage of sanctification) by following Buddha's instructions.

The nineteenth is the *Mahā-Govinda Suttanta* (*Dīgha, II, pp.* 220–252) which is of great importance from the standpoint of ancient Indian history and geography. For a Buddhist conception of the shape of India, we have to turn to this suttanta which states that India is broad on the north whereas in the south it is sakaṭamukhaṁ, i.e. has the form of the front portion of a cart and is divided into seven equal parts. The description of the shape as given in this suttanta agrees wonderfully with that given by the Chinese author, Fah-kai-lih-to.

It is really very important in the history of Pāli literature. It is no less important as one of the earliest examples cited in the Cullaniddesa (p. 80) of the Jātakas that in a way served as a model for the birth stories in the later commentaries. It introduces us to the Sudhamma or Mote Hall of the gods of Tāvatiṁsa Heaven, where all the gods with Sakka, king of gods, as President, are found to have assembled and rejoiced at the increase in their numbers "through the appearance in their midst, of new gods produced by the good karma of the followers of the new view of life put forward by Gotama". Sakka (lord of the gods) uttered eight paragraphs in eulogy of the Buddha. Next we find Mahā-Brahmā's views of an ideal brahmin. The facts of the Mahā-Govinda Suttanta are found in different phraseology and order in the Mahāvastu [1] (Govindīya Sūtra). In the absence of sufficient materials it is still a difficult task for historians to ascertain with exactitude the relation between the Dīgha Nikāya and the Mahāvastu.[2] The possible explanation of the most astounding fact yet known about the Mahāvastu is given by Rhys Davids in his Dialogues of the Buddha wherein it is stated, "Now we do not know exactly when and where Buddhists began to write in Sanskrit, though it was probably in Kashmir some time before the beginning of our era. They did not then translate into Sanskrit any Pāli book. They wrote new books. And the reason for this was two-fold. In the first place, they had already come to believe things very different from those contained in the canon; they were no longer in full sympathy with it. In the second place, though Pāli was never the vernacular of Kashmir, it was widely known there and even very probably still used for literary work; translations were therefore not required" (pt. II, p. 256).

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[1] *Vide* B. C. Law's "A Study of the Mahāvastu" pp. 145–149, or Senart's Ed. of the Mahāvastu, Vol. III, p. 197.

[2] See 'Buddhistic Studies' edited by Dr. B. C. Law, p. 837.

The Mahā-Govinda Suttanta also deals with Nirvāṇa, the path leading to it, practice of piety, danger of delay, the lower and higher ways. It also gives us an account of Mahā-Govinda's renouncing the world with a large number of followers and his seven wives.

The twentieth is the *Mahā-Samaya Suttanta* (*Dīgha, II, pp.* 253–262) which is of special importance to the historians of religion in so far as it bears testimony to the continual change in animistic belief prevalent in India at the time. In this connection Rhys Davids says, " The poem is almost unreadable now. The long list of strange names awakes no interest. And it is somewhat pathetic to notice the hopeless struggle of the author to enliven his unmanageable material with a little poetry. It remains save here and there, only doggrel still. There are three parts to the poem. The first is the list of gods, the second, the framework, put into the Buddha's mouth, at the beginning (after the prologues) and at the end, the third the prologue, with the verses of the four gods of the Pure Abode. The prologue has been preserved as a separate episode in the Saṁyutta, I, 27. The way in which the list is fitted into the framework in our sections 4, 5, and 6 is very confused, and awkward; and the grammar of the framework is inconsistent with the grammar of the list. It is highly probable therefore that the list itself and also the epilogue, had been handed down as independent works in the community before our suttanta was composed. The framework may be the work of the editor. The legends here told were intended to counteract the animistic delusions about them (names contained in the suttantas) then so prevalent in the Ganges valley. They are almost the only evidence we have as yet outside the priestly books" (Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. II, pp. 282-283). This sutta mentions some gods who are found in this earth and also in the regions above. It gives us a long list of gods and we get a similar

list with the addition of Siva in the Mahāvastu (Senart, Vol. I, p. 245, Vol. III, pp. 68, 77).

The twenty-first is the *Sakkapañha Suttanta* (*Dīgha, II, pp.* 263–289) which is, in some respects, the most interesting of all mythological dialogues. It is quoted by name at Saṁyutta, III, 13; Mahāvastu, I, 350; Milinda, 350; Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, I, 24 (where it is called vedalla). The last passage is repeated in the Gandhavaṁsa, 57.

Sakka, king of the Thirty-three, finding it difficult to approach the Buddha who was then in deep meditation, sought the aid of a Gandhabba named Pañcasikha who by the sweet play of his lyre sang in praise of the Awakened One, the Truth, the Arahant, and the love. The verses sung by the Gandhabba were addressed to a lady by one who received no return for his love for her as she was then in love with another. The song put into the mouth of the heavenly musician is clothed in words conveying a double meaning, one applicable to the Buddha and the other to the lady. The Buddha being moved by the music conversed with the Gandhabba who in the course of conversation informed Buddha of the advent of Sakka. Then Sakka came forward and paid homage to the Exalted One. He put to the Buddha several questions mostly dealing with ethics and psychology. Buddha answered the questions to the great satisfaction of Sakka who was thereafter converted to the Buddhist faith. The conversion of the king of the Thirty-three appears, at first sight, to be preposterous, but the analysis of the meaning in which the word 'Sakka' is used, leads us to hold that the king of gods is not free from the three deadly evils, lust, ill-will, and stupidity (cf. A.N., I, 144; S.N., I, 219), nor from anxiety (S.N. I, 219). He is still subject to death and rebirth (A.N., I, 144; cf. A.N., IV, 105), and as such, he desires to be reborn in some higher planes[1] of celestial beings.

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[1] There are twenty-six planes of celestial beings.

Some other topics are discussed in the suttanta :—

(1) causes of malice and avarice,

(2) causes of favour or disfavour,

(3) path leading to papañca (any of the evil conditions), saññā (consciousness), and saṁkhāra-nirodha (cessation of confections), and

(4) how a bhikkhu can be said to follow the rules of the Pātimokkha.

The *Sakkapañha Suttanta* refers to the Buddha dwelling in the Magadhan kingdom, and to a Sākya princess named Gopikā. She was pleased with the Buddha, Dhamma, and Saṁgha. She used to observe precepts fully, became disgusted with woman life, and meditated to become a man.

The twenty-second is the *Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* (*Dīgha, II, pp.* 290–315). In it the Buddha urges his disciples to set up mindfulness (sati). The doctrine expounded in this suttanta may be said to be very important in early Buddhism. The Aryan Path is obtained by practising mindfulness only. Rhys Davids says, " Sati does not occur in any ethical sense in pre-Buddhistic literature, it is possible that the Buddhist conception was, in one way, influenced by previous thought. Stress is laid on the Upanishad ideal on intuition, especially as regards the relation between the soul, supposed to exist inside each human body, and the Great Soul. In the Buddhist protest against this, the doctrine of Sati, dependent not on intuition but on grasp of actual fact, plays an important part. This opposition may have been intentional. On the other hand, the ethical value of Mindfulness (in its technical sense) would be sufficient, without any such intention, to explain the great stress laid upon it " (Dialogues of the Buddha, II, 323). In brief, the four kinds of meditation on impurities and impermanency of body and impermanency of vedanā (sensation), citta (thought), and dhamma (condition) are enumerated.

This suttanta speaks of the five hindrances, seven parts of wisdom, four truths, five khandhas or aggregates, and the various stages of inhalations and exhalations. This suttanta breaks up in the Majjhima Nikāya into two portions each representing a separate discourse such as satipaṭṭhāna (chapter on sati or recollection) and saccavibhaṅga (exposition of truth).

The twenty-third is the *Pāyāsi Suttanta* (*Dīgha, II, pp.* 316–358). Pāyāsi was a chieftain of Setavya, a city of the Kosalans. He entertained doubt as to the existence of another world, of beings reborn otherwise than from parents, and of results of good or bad deeds. Touching these questions, Pāyāsi had a long discussion with Kumāra Kassapa while the latter was staying at Setavya with a large retinue of bhikkhus. Kumāra Kassapa had recourse to similies and advanced childish arguments to establish his doubt depending on analogy, the most dangerous of all snares, put forward counter-arguments to prove the futility of Pāyāsi's arguments and at length succeeded in dispelling his doubt altogether. Pāyāsi became Kassapa's disciple. The second part of the dialogue which is a sequel to the first is similarly a dialogue between Pāyāsi and his disciple, Uttara, in which the latter succeeds in persuading the former to set up gifts in faith. The dialogue closes with a reference to the heaven where the teacher and the pupil were reborn after death. The third part which is a sequel to the second is also a dialogue between the Venerable Gavampati and the god Pāyāsi in the lonely Serissaka Mansion. "The story of Pāyāsi's conversion and pious gifts with their heavenly reward, seems to have been invented in order just to allay the fear caused in theological circles by atheistical propaganda of the powerful chieftain and philosopher, Pāyāsi" (Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, Appendix, p. XVI). It is interesting to note that Pāyāsi who thought on the line of Ajita Kesakambalī stated his predecessor's thesis in

clear and unequivocal terms. In the language of the Sthānaṅga such a doctrine is aptly designated "na santi poralokavādā". Mahāvīra and Buddha were right to suppose Ajita's doctrine of non-action because Ajita destroyed the ultimate ground of moral distinctions by denying the possibility of personal continuity and thus deprived life of its zest. The Pāyāsi Suttanta deals with moon god and sun god, message from the dead, escape of the soul, search for the soul, and right and wrong sacrifices.

This suttanta has a Jaina counterpart in the Rāya Paseṇi which is but a somewhat later and magnified legend of the chieftain Pāyāsi. Comparing the two versions of the legend it appears that Kumāra Kassapa of the Buddhist tradition was the same personality as Kesī, the Jaina and that Paesi (Pradeshi), and not Pāyāsi, was the designation of the chieftain. *With this suttanta closes the second volume of the Dīgha Nikāya.*

The twenty-fourth is the *Pāṭika Suttanta*[1] (*Dīgha, III, pp.* 1–35). This sutta testifies to the fact that Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta predeceased Buddha by a few years. Prof. Rhys Davids gives a fair and uncontroverted comment on the style and contents of this suttanta. In his introduction to this suttanta, he writes that it is concerned really with only two topics, firstly that of mystic wonders and secondly that of the origin of things. The former has been dealt with much better and more fully in the Kevaḍḍha Suttanta, the latter, here treated quite curtly and by way of appendix only, is fully discussed below in the Aggañña Suttanta (Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. III, S.B.B., Vol. IV, p. 2).

The treatment here is clumsy. It is no doubt intended to be both humorous and edifying. But the humour is far removed from the delicate irony of the Kevaḍḍha and the Aggañña. The fun is of the pantomime variety, loud, and rather stupid.

[1] *Vide* F. Weller—Ueber deu Aufbaudes Pāṭikasuttanta II Uebersetzang des chinesischen Texts.

It is funny perhaps to hear how corpse gets slapped on the back, wakes up just long enough to let the cat out of the bag, and then falls back dead again; or how an incompetent medicineman gets stuck fast to his seat, and wriggles about in his vain endeavours to rise. But this sort of fun would appeal more strongly to a music-hall audience, or to school boys out for a holiday, than to those who are likely to read it in this volume. And the supposed edification is of the same order. As an *argumentum ad hominem*, as propounded for the enlightenment of the very foolish Sunakkhatta (and this just, after all, what it purports to be), it may pass muster. Whether it can have appealed to (or was even meant to appeal to) wiser folk is very questionable. One gets rather bored with the unwearied patience with which the Tathāgata is here represented as suffering fools gladly. And it is difficult to bear with an author who tells stories so foolish merely to prove that the Tathāgata is as good a magician as the best, and who has the bad taste to put them into the mouth of the Tathāgata himself. Not only in style and taste does this suttanta differ from the others. In doctrine also it is opposed to them (Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. III, p. 1). The subject-matter is that Sunakkhatta, a Licchavi, was at first a pupil of the Buddha. Thereafter he left Buddha's Order and misinterpreted the doctrine of the Buddha. The Master refuted his arguments and himself explained his own doctrine.

The twenty-fifth is the *Udumbarika-Sīhanāda Suttanta* (*Dīgha, III, pp.* 36–57) which deals with different kinds of asceticism. The Buddha explains the evil effect of them. He explains the life of a real brahmacārī.

The twenty-sixth is the *Cakkavatti-Sīhanāda Suttanta* (*Dīgha, III, pp.* 58–79) which describes that the Buddha instructed his disciples to practise four satipaṭṭhānas, and it deals with the life of Daḷhanemi, a universal monarch. It is rather

like a fairy tale, the moral whereof is the use and influence of the Norm. The moral has been proclaimed in a thorough-going and uncompromising manner, but not in so argumentative a way as is found in modern treatises on ethics or philosophy. The authors have stated their views merely leaving the gospel to be accepted or rejected by the hearers. "The Buddha is represented in this suttanta as setting out his own idea of conquest (not without ironical reference to the current ideas) and then as inculcating the observance of the Dhamma—the Norm—as the most important force for the material and moral progress of mankind" (Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. III, p. 53).

The *Cakkavatti-Sīhanāda Suttanta* teaches us that corruption leads to the decline of life. It further points out that if morals improve, life lengthens. The suttanta closes by saying much about the condition of prosperity. It states that the Buddha predicted that when the lease of life of human beings would be 80,000 years, Bārāṇasī would be known as Ketumatī which would be the capital of Jambudīpa and the king would be Saṅkha who would be the universal monarch possessing seven gems.

The twenty-seventh is the *Aggañña Suttanta* (*Dīgha, III, pp.* 80–98). In dealing with the claims of the Brāhmaṇa, this suttanta establishes that good conduct is higher than caste. The evolution of the world, man, and society has been treated of herein[1] but the treatment does not appear to be satisfactory in the face of the scientifically developed modern ideas on the subject. This suttanta also deals with the origin of the four castes, Kṣatriyas, Brāhmaṇas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras, and concludes by preaching that righteousness is above lineage.

The *Aggañña Suttanta* mentions that the Blessed One was at Pubbārāma in the palace of

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[1] Cf. Mahāvastu (Senart's Ed.), Vol. I, p. 338 and B. C. Law's Study of the Mahāvastu (supplement), pp. 37–39.

Migāramātā and that King Pasenadi of Kosala was aware of the Blessed One's renouncing the world from the Sākya family. Though Pasenadi was of the same age as Buddha, yet he used to show respect to the Buddha out of consideration for his eminence as a great teacher.

The twenty-eighth is the *Sampasādanīya Suttanta* (*Dīgha, III, pp.* 99–116) which speaks of the excellence of the Buddha in a manner both edifying and comprehensive. It mentions that the Blessed One was at Pāvārika's mango-grove where Sāriputta went and saluted the Buddha.

The twenty-ninth is the *Pāsādika Suttanta* (*Dīgha, III, pp.* 117–141). The notable feature that is of some importance to a student of religion, is the condition of a perfect religion. Interesting reading is the mention of the characteristics of the Tathāgata. The treatment of wrong views about the past and the future appears to be common place and has no special importance from a literary point of view.

We learn from this suttanta that it was Cunda, the novice of Pāvā, who conveyed the news of the discussion to Ānanda, which led to the breaking up of the Jaina Order and the latter at once saw the importance of the events and communicated the same to the Buddha who delivered a long discourse.

The thirtieth is the *Lakkhaṇa Suttanta* (*Dīgha, III, pp.* 142–179) which mentions in detail thirty-two signs, the possessor whereof is marked as a great man or superman as termed by Rhys Davids in his Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. III, p. 134.

This suttanta contains in a framework of prose a series of didactic stanzas, elegant in composition and restrained in tone. The enumeration of some of the moral principles bears a close resemblance to that in Aśoka's dhamma, "sacce ca dhamme ca dame ca saṁyame soceyya silālay-uposathesu ca, Dāne ahiṁsāya asāhase rato daḷhaṁ samādāya samattaṁ ācari" (Dīgha, III, p. 147). Prof. Rhys Davids aptly says that this suttanta

seems gravely ironical in the contrast it makes between the absurdity of the marks and the beauty of the ethical qualities they are supposed in the suttanta to mean. It mentions the fact that the Blessed One dwelt at Sāvatthī in the Jetavana-ārāma of Anāthapiṇḍika.

The thirty-first is the *Siṅgālovāda Suttanta* (*Dīgha, III, pp.* 180–193) which deals with the duties of a householder. It has been translated into English by Grimbolt in Sept Suttas Palis (Paris, 1879), by Gogerly in J.R.A.S., Ceylon Branch, 1847, and by R. C. Childers in the Contemporary Review, London, 1876.

We agree with Rhys Davids when he says that anyway the Buddha's doctrine of love and good will between man and man is here set forth in a domestic and social ethics with more comprehensive detail than elsewhere. In a canon compiled by members of a religious order and largely concerned with the mental experiences and ideals of recluses, and with their outlook on the world, it is of great interest to find in it a sutta entirely devoted to the outlook and relations of the layman on and to his surroundings. Rhys Davids further points out that the discourse was felt to possess this interest in the long past by Buddhaghosa, or by the tradition he handed on, or by both (Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. III, pp. 168-169). Concerning this sutta, Buddhaghosa says "Nothing in the duties of a householder is left unmentioned" and so it passed current as a gihivinaya (Dr. Barua, Note on the Bhabra Edict, J.R.A.S., 1915). The real interest of this sutta centres round a scheme of the law of persons interpreted as a code of moral duties. Mrs. Rhys Davids rightly points out that the sigāla saying is much valued now because the others are nearly all of them lost (Gotama the man, pp. 205-206).

The thirty-second is the *Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta* (*Dīgha, III, pp.* 194–206) which mentions gods,

gandhabbas, and yakkhas who are not pleased with the Buddha. It treats of driving them away if they attack Buddha's upāsakas and upāsikās. It is a saving chant (rakkhā-manta) to get rid of evil spirits. In this suttanta mention is made of the Kumbhaṇḍa petas who had a lord named Viruḷha in the quarter of the south and he had many sons. We are further told by this suttanta that the petas were backbiters and murderers, brigands, crafty-minded rogues, thieves, and cheats.

The thirty-third is the *Saṅgīti Suttanta*[1] (*Dīgha, III, pp.* 207–271) which deals with Sāriputta's explanation of the Dhamma. The importance of this suttanta lies in the numerical groupings of the dhammas obviously on the method followed in the Ekuttara or the Aṅguttara Nikāya. This suttanta corresponds, as pointed out by Prof. Takakusu, to the Saṁgītiparayāya Sūtra forming one of the six Abhidhamma treatises of the Sarvāstivāda school.

The subject-matter of the Puggalapaññatti is puggala or person. In the treatment of the subject, the author gives a table of contents of the whole work, and then follows the method of the Aṅguttara Nikāya. He first gives the grouping of human types under one term, then under two, and so on, up to the grouping under ten terms. Again, in its form the Puggalapaññatti is indebted to the Saṅgīti Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya. This Dīgha Nikāya suttanta treats of the dasadhammā or ten conditions (single doctrine, double doctrines, triple doctrines, fourfold doctrines, etc.) much in the same way as the Puggalapaññatti deals with the dasa puggalā or ten individuals (i.e., the varieties of those walking in the Four Paths).

[1] *Vide* F. Weller—Ueber die Rahmener zählung des Saṁgīti-Suttanta im Pāli Kanon, Asia Major, V, fasc. I, 1928. This sutta has been translated into English from Pāli by Suriyagoda Sumaṅgala Swāmī and published in a book form by the M.B.S., Colombo, 1904.

Occasionally we find the two subjects overlapping, that is to say, puggalas are mentioned in the Saṅgīti Suttanta, and dhammas are referred to in the Puggalapaññatti. Amongst the cattāro dhammā of the Saṅgīti Suttanta, immediately following the cattāro ariya vohārā, mention is made of cattāro puggalā (Dīgha, Vol. III, p. 232) exactly in the same words as in the Mātikā of the Puggalapaññatti (Puggalapaññatti, p. 7). Amongst the satta dhammā of the Saṅgīti Suttanta we find satta puggalā dakkhiṇeyyā (Dīgha, Vol. III, p. 253), corresponding to the Mātikā of the Puggalapaññatti, P.T.S., pp. 30–36.

The thirty-fourth and the last is the *Dasuttara Suttanta* (*Dīgha, III, pp.* 272–293) which provides us with a sort of compendium of the dhamma in ten numerical settings and as shown by Dr. Takakusu corresponds to one of the six Abhidharma treatises of the Sarvāstivāda school. *With this sutta the third or the last volume of the Dīgha Nikāya comes to an end.*

B. Majjhima Nikāya

The Majjhima Nikāya[1] is the second book of the Sutta Piṭaka. It is known as the 'Middle Collection' or the collection of discourses of medium length. It is divided into three books each consisting of fifty suttas (pannāsas). But the text

[1] Majjhima Nikāya, P.T.S. Ed., Vol. I, by V. Trenckner; Vol. II, pt. I, by R. Chalmers (Now Lord); and Vol. III, by R. Chalmers. Indices to the Majjhima Nikāya by Mabel Bode; Majjhima Nikāya, Colombo, 1895. The first fifty discourses from the collection of the medium length discourses of Gotama the Buddha, freely rendered and abridged from the Pāli by the bhikkhu Sīlācāra, V. I. Breslau: W. Markgraf, 1912 (Deutche Pāli—Gesellschaft) Die Reden Gotamo Buddhos: aus der mittleren Sammlung Majjhimanikāyo des Pāli-Kanons Zum ersten Mal uebersetzt von K. E. Neumann, Leipzig; W. Friedrich, 1896–1902; Discorsi di Gotamo Buddho del majjhimo Nikāyo. Per la prima volta tradotti dal testo pali da. K. E. Neumann, e.g. de Lorenzo. 3 vols.

For English translations of the suttas *vide* Further Dialogues of the Buddha by Lord Chalmers, vols. I and II.

in the P.T.S. edition contains 152 suttas, the third book containing two suttas in excess of fifty. The Chinese Madhyamāgama Sūtra is to be compared with the Pāli text of the Majjhima Nikāya, collection of middle suttas, 152 in number (see Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, p. 127). This nikāya deals with almost all the points of Buddhist religion. The suttas of this nikāya throw light not only on the life of Buddhist monks but also on such subjects as Brāhmaṇa sacrifices, various forms of asceticism, the relation of the Buddha to the Jainas, and the social and political conditions prevailing at the time. The four noble truths of the Buddhist religion, the doctrine of form or action, refutation of the soul theories, different modes of meditation, etc., are discussed in this nikāya.

The Majjhima Nikāya begins with the *Mūlapariyāya Sutta*[1] (*Majjhima, P.T.S., I, pp.* 1–6) which lays the scene of the discourse at the pleasure grove of Ukkaṭṭhā. The teaching is proclaimed to be one that strikes the keynote of the entire doctrine of Buddhism (Sabbadhamma mūlapariyāya). The popular aspect of this most important discourse is to be found in the narrative of the Mūlapariyāya Jātaka (Fausböll, Jātaka, II, 259 foll.). In this particular discourse the Buddha has critically surveyed the real position of the contemporary systems of philosophy, pointing out the difference that exists between the standpoint of these systems of philosophy and his own. It is apparent from this sutta that there were then current in India good many philosophical and theological beliefs, the most of which can be found in the philosophical and metaphysical works of the Hindus and in the books of the Jains. This sutta touches on the

[1] This sutta which has been translated as a Discourse on the original cause of all phenomena has been translated into English from Pāli by Suriyagoḍa Sumaṅgala Thera and published in a book form by the Mahā Bodhi Society, Colombo, 1908. Dr. Neumann has translated this sutta into German.

soul theory. A fair idea of Nirvāṇa[1] can be gathered from this sutta. This sutta further informs us that the disciples of the Buddha who are greatly learned and ariyasāvakas (noble disciples) know Pajāpatī, Brahmā, Ābhassara gods, Subhakiṇṇa gods, Vehapphala, Abhibhu, Ākāsānañcāyatana, Viññāṇañcāyatana, Ākiñcaññāyatana, Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana gods (*vide* my "Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective", pp. 8 foll.).

The object of the *Sabbāsava Sutta* (*M.N., Vol. I, pp.* 6–12) is to show how the banes (āsavas) can be overcome. The Buddha says that relief from all banes comes to those who only can see and comprehend all things. Banes may be destroyed by a man who is wisely attentive. Banes may also be destroyed by discernment, restraint, carefulness, endurance, suppression, and mental exercise. Those whose actions bring to sensual lust, craving for existence, thought for the past existence are blameworthy. They fall victims to the following views :

> I have a self[2]
> I have not a self.
>
> By self I apprehend self....eternity and identity of the self ;

and then fall into the net of diverse views. Those who pay attention to the worthy things get rid of these. If attention is paid only to the worthy things then no bane can come in.

Heirs of truth, Solitude, and the Middle Path are the topics of discussion in the *Dhammadāyāda Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp.* 12–16). Here the Lord distinguishes between the two classes of monks, one that clings to the Dhamma and the other that

[1] Mrs. Rhys Davids is perfectly right when she gives an idea of Nirvāṇa by saying that it is merely the ending of the bad (Gotama the man, p. 46), and we should add, beginning of the good.

[2] Mrs. Rhys Davids has ably dealt with the subject of attā in Buddhism—*vide* Mrs. Rhys Davids, Sakya or Buddhist origins, pp. 186 foll.

clings to the food to enable him to practise Dhamma.[1] The Lord praises the former, the keeper of the real truth. For contentment and quietness of mind will enable him to purge off the impurities.

Sāriputta is now introduced in the second part of the sutta and is delivering sermons on solitude. He says that there are three ways in which the disciples of the lonely master fail to practise solitude. He then explains the Middle Path which leads to the destruction of avarice, hatred, delusion, etc., and consequently to the attainment of Nibbāṇa. Note that this sutta falls into two parts. The first part is merely an introduction in which the Buddha relates the story of the two bhikkhus, Amisadāyāda and Dhammadāyāda. The Buddha then departs and Sāriputta takes up the thread of the discourse and explains the doctrinal points involved in this sutta.

The subject-matter of the *Bhayabherava Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp.* 16–24; Fear and Terror) is how terror may arise in mind. The Lord says to Jānussoṇi the brahmin that fear only comes to him who comes into the depth of forests with heart filled with longings and desires or restless or witless and drivelling. This sutta explains why terror arises to some and not to others. The real value of this sutta consists in its being reminiscent of the fearless endeavours of the Buddha previous to his enlightenment. This portion occurs in the Dīgha and Majjhima many times. In this discourse the subject of jhāna[2] or 'raft musing' or 'abstraction' has been dealt with in glowing language.

[1] Mrs. Rhys Davids has written a very interesting and illuminating chapter on Dharma (Dhamma) in Sakya—See Sakya or Buddhist Origins, pp. 66–74. She in her *Gotama the man* says that it is better not to translate it. Dhamma, 'a thing as it may be' means a possibility. Sylvain Levi's rendering of Dhamma by ideal is somewhat better but is only inadequate in that it words not the thing but only the idea of it (p. 56).

[2] See Mrs. Rhys Davids, Sakya or Buddhist Origins, pp. 171 foll.

The *Anaṅgaṇa Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp*. 24–32; Freedom from depravity) points out that a man undepraved cannot be free unless and until he himself sees that he is really far from depravation, that is, unless he knows the pitfalls he may fall into.

Then Sāriputta says that there are some monks who seek position and who like pleasure. These monks are bad.

A reference to a naked ascetic Paṇḍuputta as cited by Mahāmoggallāna in the course of the discourse shows that the naked ascetics as a sect were in existence and they were not free from corruption.

This sutta does not claim to have come from the mouth of the Lord and is a mere discourse among the disciples while the Lord was still alive. Its inclusion within the nikāya shows first that the suttas were collected not only because they emanated from the Lord himself but also because of the seal of approval attached to them by the Master.

The *Ākaṅkheyya Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp*. 33–36) teaches us that the Lord advises his disciples to observe the strict rules of the sīla (precepts) and Pātimokkha (Pātimokkha saṁvara saṁbhuta). Longing for fame and reputation and power to know others' minds may be in their hearts. But this should not be. The monks will only observe the rule, be subdued and restrained, and practise the precepts of conduct faithfully.

In the *Vatthūpama Sutta* (*M.N.*, *pp*. 36–40; parable of the cloth) the Lord exhorts the monks to be pure in mind and to wipe off all impurities. Let not impurities of mind remain. Let the monks know what impurities are and fully knowing they will abandon them. When they have abandoned them, they will have generated faith in the Buddha and in the rules that will guide him and the Saṁgha.

The Brāhmin Bhāradvāja of Sundarikā asks the Lord if he goes to the Bāhukā river. The Lord

questions him the reason and when Bhāradvāja says that the river possesses the power of purifying, the Lord explains that to purify the mind one need not go there. Bhāradvāja is afterwards ordained.

Of the two parts of this Sutta the second is relevant only if we take yet the faint connection of purifying power of the Bāhukā river with the purifying power of mind. Otherwise the episode of Bhāradvāja is out of place. There are two points worthy of notice: (1) that the parable of cloth may be interpreted as an illustration of the popular Buddhist conception of mind in *tabula rasa* or clean sheet of cloth, contaminated by impurities which being foreign to its nature (āgantukādosā) can be ultimately got rid of (B. M. Barua, Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, p. 399), and (2) that it preserves a very ancient Pāli couplet mentioning seven important rivers, e.g. Bāhukā, Adhikakkā, Gayā, and the rest as holy waters in which the people bathed to wash away their sins and impurities, Gayā being represented the chief of all.

In the *Sallekha Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 40–46) the Blessed One in reply to Mahā-Cunda's question says that in order to get rid of the various false views current about self and the universe, an almsman should see with right comprehension that there is no 'mine', no 'this is I', no 'this is myself'. Each of the planes (the four ecstasies, infinity of space, of mind, of Naught—of neither perception nor imperception, etc.) is called by the Buddha not an expunging but an excellent state. According to the Buddha this is the way to expunge though others may be harmful, an almsman should be harmless; others may kill and lie, but an almsman should not do so.

In the *Sammādiṭṭhi Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 46–55) (Right Belief) we find that Sāriputta wants to know what right belief means. At this the monks themselves become anxious to know from

him the meaning of it. Then Sāriputta says that right belief means the disciples' knowledge of good and evil with all their roots.

In the fold of evil are included :—

(1) to kill, (2) to steal, (3) to be guilty of sex indulgences, (4) to speak falsely, (5) to spread scandal, (6) to speak harshly, (7) to speak roughly, (8) to speak frivolously, (9) to covet, (10) to cherish ill-will, (11) to entertain erroneous views ;

within the fold of rest of evil are included :—

(1) Desire, (2) Hatred, (3) Delusion ;

within fold of good are included :—

(1) to abstain from (as above in evil) ;

within the root of good are included :—

(1) Absence of attachment to passion, (2) Love, (3) Wisdom.

At the suggestion of the fellow monks, Sāriputta acknowledges the various ways leading to right belief, namely :—

1. by knowing āhāro (nutriment) its origin, its cessation and the cause leading to its cessation.

2.	Do.	Suffering	Do.
3.	Do.	Decay and death	Do.
4.	Do.	birth	Do.
5.	Do.	existence	Do.
6.	Do.	attachment	Do.
7.	Do.	sensation	Do.
8.	Do.	contact	Do.
9.	Do.	activity	Do.
10.	Do.	ignorance	Do.
11.	Do.	canker	Do.

In the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 55–63) the Lord says to the monks that there is but one way that leads to the purification of mortals and that

is the four Satipaṭṭhānas,[1] e.g. to keep watch over (1) body (kāya), (2) sensation (vedanā), (3) mind (citta), and (4) phenomenon (dhamma).

The tone of this long sutta, known as the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta, is always harmonious. The Buddha advises the monks to practise mindfulness. It is by the fourfold mastering of mindfulness that one can pass beyond sorrow and lamentation and ills of body and of mind and obtain the right path and realise nirvāṇa.

The teachings in this sutta may be judged as the corner-stone of the whole of the Buddhist system of self-culture.

The *Cūḷasīhanāda Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, 63–68) informs us that the Blessed One asks his disciples to tell the votaries of other paths that they excel them in the following :—

1. Sattharipasāda (faith in teacher),
2. Dhammepasāda (faith in the law),
3. Sīlesu paripūrakāritā (strict observance of sīlas),
4. Sahadhammikā piyāmanāpāgahaṭṭhā c'eva pabbajitā ca—agreeableness in the company of the dear fellow believers whether they are laymen or monks.

He explains to them that all ideas about self, eternity, non-eternity arise from the clinging to the self, i.e. non-comprehension of the law.

We find here that there are some philosophers who hold the existence of things to be eternal while others belief in the non-existence of things.

In the *Mahāsīhanāda Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, 68–83; great lion's roar) we read that Sāriputta informed the Blessed One that Sunakkhatta, a Licchavi

[1] It is interesting to note here the valuable remarks of Mrs. Rhys Davids in her Gotama the man (p. 222), "the same way of values in the other formula of ordered thinking called the four satipaṭṭhānas has, as two of its stages 'ideas' and 'mind', brought in the same two ideas here, where the training has a somewhat, but not wholly, different emphasis. And it will not be a true picture of my teaching, if the training in *iddhi* is passed over"

prince, who had left the Order, spoke ill of him. At this the lion-like Lord began to roar that his teachings were such that if one pondered over them one would surely leave the world. Sāriputta further informed the Buddha that he was so powerful because he possessed the ten powers which included his capacity for knowing facts. He further declared that he possessed the four Vesārajjas (four kinds of confidence). He also knew the various classifications of beings, the birth of beings, the Nibbāna, the mind of men, and the five different destinies of men. This long sutta only glorifies the Buddha.

Reference is also made to the existence of certain kinds of religious men (1) who believe in purification by food, (2) who believe in purification by offering, and (3) who believe in purification by the fire rituals. The Lomadhaṁsapariyāya is an alternative title suggested in this discourse. A popular version of this discourse is to be found in the Lomahaṁsa Jātaka.[1]

The *Mahādukkhakkhandha Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, 83–90) tells us that the monks were thinking as to the distinction between their school of thought and those of the other sects, particularly when both taught subjects of desire. They approached the Lord and the Lord asked them if they could put the question before the ascetics of the other sects as to the pleasures of senses, and escape from sensual pleasures, etc. Surely the ascetics of the other sects would be puzzled. This sutta informs us that it is the sensual pleasure that brings lots of troubles when kings fight, private persons engage in feuds, etc. So the end of sensual pleasure is happiness.

In this sutta we find a long enumeration of the offences that were punishable by the penal laws of ancient India, e.g. burglary, robbery, highway, adultery, etc. The kind of punishment for each offence is mentioned as follows: by flogging, by bastinado, by bludgeoning, by cutting off hands

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[1] Fausböll, Jātaka, Vol. I, pp. 389 foll.

or feet, hands and feet, ears or nose, ears and nose or they are subjected to the tortures of the saucepan,[1] the chauk-shave or the lanthorn,[2] the wreath of fire,[3] the fiery hand, the hay-band,[4] the bark-robe, the black hart,[5] the meat-hooks,[6] the pennies,[7] the pickle[8], bolting the door[9] or the palliasse[10] or they are sprayed with boiling oil, or are given to starved dogs to devour, or are impaled alive, or have their heads chopped off.

There is a reference here to sects other than the order of Buddhist monks, for whom too sensual pleasure was the main point of attack and their identification will be of great interest.

There is also a mention of the kinds of profession that suited the householder, e.g.—

1.	Muddā	.. conveyancing
2.	Gaṇanā	.. accountancy
3.	Saṅkhā	.. appraising
4.	Kasī	.. agriculture
5.	Vanijjā	.. trade and commerce
6.	Gorakkhā	.. cattle breeding
7.	Issattha	.. soldiery
8.	Rājaporisa	.. royal service

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[1] The skull was first trepanned and then a red-hot ball of iron was dropped in so that the brains boiled over like porridge.

[2] The mouth was fixed open with a skewer and a lighted lamp put inside. This torture was called the mouth of Rāhu because Rāhu, the asura, was supposed at an eclipse to swallow the sun.

[3] The whole body was oiled before ignition but mātī suggests a coronal of flames just as the next torture is localized to the hands.

[4] From the neck downwards the skin was flayed into strips not severed at the ankles but there plaited like a hay-band to suspend him till he fell by his own weight. In the next torture the strips formed a kilt.

[5] The victim was skewered to the ground through elbows and knees with a fire lighted all round him so as to char his flesh.

[6] The victims were slung up by double hooks through flesh and tendons.

[7] With a razor little discs of flesh were shaved off all over the body.

[8] Into gashes salt or alkali was rubbed—with combs.

[9] The head was nailed to the ground by a skewer through both ear-holes.

[10] The skin being left intact, the bones and inwards were pounded till the whole frame was as soft as a straw mattress (Lord Chalmers, Further Dialogues of the Buddha, Pt. I, pp. 61-62 f.n.).

and other arts and occupations, e.g. clerk of the signet, clerk of accompt, computor, estate-agent, purveyor, herd-manager, archer, member of the royal household.

The *Cūḷadukkhakkhandha Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, 91–95) informs us that Mahānāma the Sākya approached the Lord and asked him, " How is it that thoughts for craving, hatred, and delusion are the defilements of mind ? " The Lord explained to him thus " something has not been cast out and for this such trouble comes to him again". In this sutta is found a description of the naked ascetics whom the Buddha is said to have met. Some of the naked ascetics lived in large numbers at the Black rock in Rājagaha. Their teacher was Nāthaputta who believed in bad works done by them in their past life for which they were to suffer. They believed that by suffering, happiness may be attained.

The object of *Anumāna Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, 95–100) is to warn the monks in concrete cases to be careful.

Mahāmoggallāna advises the monks that if any of them goes astray and does not listen to the warnings of the fellow monks then the best way lies with them is to punish him by not mixing with him and not speaking to him.

Like the Mahāvagga and Pātimokkha this sutta enumerates offences and their punishments. Nowhere there is any mention of a citation of a standard book on these rules. And the principal figure here is not the Lord but Mahāmoggallāna. Buddhaghosa informs us that this discourse was known to the ancients as Bhikkhuvinaya or treatises on discipline.

The *Cetokhila Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, 101–104) lays down that there are five bolts of the heart, e.g. the doubt about the teacher, the doubt about the doctrine or confraternity or the course of training with the lack of bent towards ardour, zeal, perseverance and exertion and anger and displeasure towards fellows in higher life. The Buddha says that there are five cetaso vinibandhā

(five mental enslavements or five bondages of the mind)[1] from which every monk has to free himself in order to achieve the highest goal.

The sutta also lays down some Vinaya rules and illustrates the cases. It may be pointed out that the Buddhist term *cetokhila* corresponds to Jaina *dukkhasejjā* (the thorny bed).

In the *Vanapattha Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, 104–108; Woodland Solitude) the Blessed One lays before his disciples a way of woodland solitude. The Master quotes instances of monks living in forests with an unbalanced mind and an unsteady recollection. Such monks could not achieve anything noble because they were not accustomed to live without necessities.

This sutta also exemplifies the Vinaya rules, as for example, a monk's needs in the matter of clothing, food, bed, and medicaments.

The *Madhupiṇḍika Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, 108–114; the Daily morsel) points out that Daṇḍapāni, the Sākya, met the Blessed One and asked him what doctrine the latter held. At this the Blessed One explained to him that he held such a doctrine that both Brahmā and Māra were unable to hold. At this Daṇḍapāni retired. The Buddha then narrated the events to the disciples who also wanted to know what doctrine the Blessed One held. He then retired after telling them his doctrine in a nut-shell that there is an end of all inclinations to passion, pride, doubts, ignorance, and speculative ideas for a man if he does not adhere to obsessions, whatever be the origin. Then Mahākaccāna was sought after by the monk to explain the meaning

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[1] Attachment to sensual pleasures, attachment to the body, attachment to the visible forms, if after eating as much as his belly will hold, a bhikkhu is fond of his chair or bed or of slumber, then his heart's bent is not towards ardour, zeal, perseverance, and exertions. If a bhikkhu aspiring to belong to one of the deva communities practises morality saying unto himself that by practising this precept, vow, asceticism or austerity he would become a particular god, then his heart's bent is not towards ardour, etc.

of what the Blessed One had spoken so briefly. Thereupon Mahākaccāna explained to the fellow monks the psychological meaning of the sayings of the Buddha. Then the Lord also corroborated the same statement of Mahākaccāna.

The *Dvedhāvitakka Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, 114–118) is very important so far as the history of Pāli literature is concerned. Mahākaccāna's exposition of what the Buddha had spoken shortly furnishes us at least with important data as to the way in which the system of exposition began, and that the system of Abhidhamma exposition based on philosophical thought and explanation of what the Buddha had spoken may be found here. Here we may find the genesis of Abhidhamma and the author was the same Mahākaccāna. Mahākaccāna's duty was ever the same. No text is referred to as there was no text and the succeeding numbers of texts are nothing but embodiments of all philosophical expositions and Buddha's short teachings which are sought to have passed through the mouth of Buddha's disciples, e.g. Mahākaccāna.

The Blessed One explained to his disciples that he failed to achieve the highest object so long as he practised the habit of dividing things which gave rise in his heart to craving, considerations of ill-will and cruelty. But when he thought and pondered more on renunciation, then the thoughts of craving passed away. He gave them a number of parables and finally exhorted them to devote themselves to meditation so that they might not have to repent later on.

In the *Vitakkasanthāna Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 118–122) we find that there are discussions which bring about merit and there are discussions which bring about demerit, suffering, etc. A bhikkhu should be called one who is well restrained in discussions when he discusses with one who wants discussion and refuses discussion with one who does not want it.

The *Kakacūpama Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 122–129; parable of the saw) points out that the Blessed

One spoke in very reproaching terms to Moliya-Phagguna and asked him to avoid the society of bhikkhuṇīs and to do as the senior bhikkhus instructed him to do. He should drive away all anger from his mind and should not give way to anger even if villainous bandits were to carve him limb from limb with a two-handled saw (ubhato-daṇḍakena kakacena).

In the *Alagaddūpama Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 130–142; parable of the snake) Ariṭṭha says that what Buddha had laid down, so far as hindrance was concerned, was not yet sufficient. The monks tried to correct him and failing in this they approached the Buddha. Buddha sent for Ariṭṭha and when the latter arrived before him he approached him saying that the teachings were quite sufficient but that Ariṭṭha had not well comprehended them and that he had been misguided.[1]

The *Vammīka Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 142–145; the parable of the ant-hill) deserves only a passing notice.

In the *Rathavinīta Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 145–151) Puṇṇa Mantāniputta[2] dwells upon the various stages in the path of the attainment of nibbāna.[3] One cannot have nibbāna at once. Nibbāna is the goal and to attain that one is to pass through various states of mind, one leading to the other. First, purity of life will take one as far as purity of heart and no further, and purity of heart takes one only up to purity of views. In the same way one will have gradually the purity by dispelling doubts, the purity by the fullest insight into paths, right and wrong, the purity by insight into the way by which to walk, and the purity which insight

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[1] Cf. Vinaya Texts, II, S.B.E., p. 377, Vinaya Piṭaka, Vol. II, Cullavagga, pp. 25 foll.

[2] *Vide* Mrs. Rhys Davids, Gotama the man, pp. 111–113.

[3] For an interesting discussion on Nibbāna (see 'Buddhistic Studies' edited by B. C. Law, pp. 564 foll.). It is true to say that nibbāna is not for many but for the very ripe few (Gotama the man, p. 174).

gives. The question of Upatissa in this sutta is identified by Dr. Neumann with the passage, entitled *Upatissapasine* in Aśoka's Bhābru Edict. We agree with Dr. B. M. Barua in thinking that Buddhaghosa's encyclopædic Visuddhimagga or even Buddhadatta's earlier Abhidhamma Manual, Abhidhammāvatāra, is nothing but an elaborate treatment of the topics suggested in the questions of Upatissa.

In the *Nivāpa Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 151–160) we find that the Buddha instructs the bhikkhus how to avoid the five pleasures of senses and thus become free from the clutches of Māra and his train. According to the Master such a bhikkhu is said to have passed the range of vision of the Evil One, who divested of pleasures and wrong states of mind abides in the First Ecstacy, the Second Ecstacy, the Third Ecstacy, the Fourth Ecstacy, the plane of infinity of space, the plane of infinity of consciousness, the plane of naught, the plane of neither perception nor non-perception, the plane where feeling and perception cease.

The *Ariyapariyesana Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 160–175) furnishes us with one of the earliest examples of legends of the early days of Buddhahood, and as such it forms the historical basis of later legendary accounts in the Jātakas and Avadānas.

In the *Cūḷahatthipadopama Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 175–184) the Buddha narrates to the brahmin Jānussoni the achievements of a Truth-finder. A Truth-finder preaches his doctrine which is conducive to good of all. He propounds a higher life that is wholly complete and pure. This doctrine is heard by the head of a house or his son or by one of any other birth, who hearing it forsakes the worldly life and becomes a bhikkhu. He keeps the sīlas (precepts), cūḷa (small), majjhima (middle size), and mahā (large). He becomes a master of this noble code of virtue and of control of his faculties of sense. He becomes a master of noble mindfulness and purpose in all he does. He resorts to a

lonely lodging. His heart is set on mindfulness. His life is purged of all evils. He abides in the Four Ecstacies. This is the Truth-finder's footprint. The disciple of the Noble concludes that the Lord is Enlightened and he has truly revealed his Doctrine and his Order walks aright.

The *Mahāhatthipadopama Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 184–191) is attributed to Sāriputta. Sāriputta says that just as the foot of every creature that walks the earth will go into the elephant's footprint, which is pre-eminent for size, even so are all right states of mind comprised within the Four Noble Truths—ill, the origin of ill, the cessation of ill, and the way leading to the cessation of ill. Sāriputta then explains the Noble Truth of ill and says that the Five Attachments to existence (visible shapes, feeling, perception, plastic forces, and consciousness) are ill. He next dwells upon the constituents of the attachment of visible shapes, viz. earth, water, fire and air, and concludes by saying that what is true of visible objects, is equally true of sound, smell, taste, touch, and mind.

In the *Mahāsāropama Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 192–197) the Buddha refers to Devadatta's secession from the Order[1] and says that there are certain youths who outwardly being allured by the life of monks leave the household life. As monks, they receive presents, esteem, and repute. But these things so please them and so satisfy their aspirations that thereby they become puffed up and disparage others. Thus they grow remiss, and having become remiss, live a prey to ill. But there are also certain youths who do not fall a prey to ill.

In the *Cūḷasāropama Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 198–205) the Blessed One says to the brahmin Piṅgala-Koccha that the reward of the higher life is not to be found in presents, esteem, and repute, nor in a life of virtue, nor in rapt concentration, nor in Mystic Insight. It is immutable Deliverance which

[1] Cf. Vinaya Texts, III, S.B.E., pp. 238 foll.

is the prize and the goal of the higher life. This is the Buddha's reply to the question of the brahmin Piṅgala-Koccha. The question is this: whether by reason of their own professed creed that all of the religious teachers, such as Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesa-Kambalī, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta, and Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta[1] have, or have not, discerned truth, or that some of them have discerned it, while others have not. In this sutta Buddha simply reproduces verbatim what we get about these six teachers at Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, I, pp. 142–4.

In the *Cūḷagosiṅga Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp.* 205–211) the Lord praises Anuruddha, Nandiya, and Kimbila[2] who by putting an end to evil desires have risen beyond the ordinary mortals.

In the *Mahāgosiṅga Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp.* 212–219) we find that in reply to the question what type of bhikkhu would illumine Gosiṅga wood, Ānanda speaks of one who treasures and hoards what he has been taught and learns by heart the ideas which declare the higher life in all its perfection and purity; Revata, of one who delights in meditation; Anuruddha, of one who is blessed with the celestial eye; Mahākassapa, of one who living in the forest recommends forest life and lives in solitude; Mahāmoggallāna, of one who holds discourse on the Abhidhamma with another bhikkhu for gaining edification on it; Sāriputta, of one who is master of his heart; and the Buddha, of one whose heart is delivered from all evil desires.

In the *Mahāgopālaka Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp.* 220–224) the Buddha says that there are eleven good or bad qualities, in the case of a bhikkhu, which either enable him to show or disable him from showing progress in the doctrine and rites. A bhikkhu who knows the four elements, comprehends what

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[1] *Vide* Buddhistic Studies (edited by B. C. Law), pp. 73–88, chap. III, on *six heretical teachers* by B. C. Law.

[2] Cf. the Vinaya account, S.B.E., XX, 228.

marks the doings of the fool and the doings of the wise, develops control over his faculty of sight, goes from time to time to learned bhikkhus to ask and enquire of the difficult points of doctrine, has a perfect knowledge of the Noble Eightfold Path (ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo) and tends with special attention the experienced and senior Elders, can really show growth, increase, and progress in the doctrine. But a bhikkhu who has not these qualities cannot show progress in the doctrine.

In the *Cūḷagopālaka Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 225–227) the Buddha says that those who will listen to and trust in the recluses and brahmins who are wrong about this world and hereafter, wrong about what is and what is not the realm of Māra,[1] wrong about what is and what is not the realm of Death, will long suffer and smart for it. They who follow the recluses and brahmins who rightly comprehend this world and the next, the realm of Māra and Death, will long enjoy weal and welfare.

In the *Cūḷasaccaka Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 227–237) we have an account of a conversation between Saccaka and the Buddha. This Saccaka was the son of a Jain (woman), and was a great controversialist who gave himself out as learned and was held in high popular repute.

The *Mahāsaccaka Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 237–251) narrates the Lord's triumph over Saccaka whose aim was to discredit the Buddha and the Doctrine and the Confraternity. It appears from this sutta that Mahāvīra (Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta) is said to

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[1] Mrs. Rhys Davids' interpretation of Māra is worth noticing. She says, "when we used the term 'māra' it was to speak of this or man as a very type of will-worsener, either as a sceptic, or as an encourager of low desires....Māra is never a very devil or demon but just a man who wills evil. The name means death and evil leads ever to some sort of destroying. The many stories on Māra mean only that. Māra is never described save as some man or creature. Never as woman! The daughters of Māra come nearest to that. Woman was reckoned as in herself Māra without the name" (Gotama the man, pp. 126-127). Read in this connection my paper on the Buddhist conception of Māra (Buddhistic Studies, pp. 257 foll.).

have laid equal stress on manokamma and kāyakamma on the ground of the interaction of the body and mind (cittaṅvayo kāyo hoti, kāyaṅvayaṁ cittaṁ hoti).

In the *Cūḷataṇhāsaṅkhaya Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 251–256) the Lord explains briefly how a bhikkhu wins deliverance by the extirpation of cravings, so as to become consummate in perfection, in his union with peace, and in the higher life, and foremost among gods and men.

In the *Mahātaṇhāsaṅkhaya Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 256–271) we find the Buddha expounding his doctrine to Sati, a fisherman's son, who misunderstanding the Lord's teaching of the doctrine, holds that consciousness runs on and continues without break of identity.

In the *Mahā-Assapura Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 271–280) the Buddha enumerates the qualities which are essential for an ideal recluse. An ideal recluse should be conscientious and scrupulous and pure in deed, word, and thought. He should train himself to guard the portals of the senses and to moderation in food. He should be mindful and self-possessed and should live in solitude and sit in a charnel-ground with his mind set on mindfulness. He should put away the five hindrances and abide in the Four Ecstacies (jhāna is rapt musing or abstraction, according to Mrs. Rhys Davids). Such a bhikkhu is styled brahmin, noble, and saintly.

In the *Cūḷa-Assapura Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 281–284) the Lord also speaks of the recluse's regimen. A bhikkhu should not tread the recluse's path of duty. He should put away greed, malice, wrath, revenge, hypocrisy, fraud, and evil desires from him. It is not the robe which makes the recluse, nor living under a tree, nor intoning texts, nor having matted hair. It is by putting away all the evil qualities that one becomes a true bhikkhu. Thus putting away the five hindrances and destroying the cankers a bhikkhu abides in the Four Ecstacies.

The *Sāleyyaka Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 285–290) narrates how the Buddha exhorted the brahmin householders of Sāla, a brahmin village of the Kosalans, convincing them of the truth of what he said. This sutta gives a list of all the gods of the Kāmaloka, Rūpaloka, and Arūpaloka in the proper order though without the details which, however, must have been known to the author of these suttas.

In the *Verañjaka Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 290-291) the Master instructed the brahmins who came to Sāvatthī from Verañja on some business or other, convincing them of the truth of his doctrine.

The *Mahāvedalla Sutta*[1] (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 292–298) is a catechism of questions and answers of certain psychological topics, e.g. understanding, consciousness, feeling, perception, pure mental consciousness isolated from the five faculties of bodily sense, eye of understanding, right outlook, types of rebirth, and first jhāna ('rapt musing or abstraction').

In the *Cūḷavedalla Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 299–305) the bhikkhuṇī, Dhammadinnā, replies to the lay disciple Visākhā's questions on personality, the Noble Eightfold Path (ariya aṭṭhaṅgikamagga), and the plastic forces (saṁkhāra).

In the *Cūḷadhammasamādāna Sutta and the Mahādhammasamādāna Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 305–317) the Master says that there are four ways to profess a doctrine. The first is pleasant for the time being but ripens to pain thereafter ; the second is unpleasant for the time being and ripens to pain thereafter ; the third is unpleasant for the time being but ripens to be pleasant thereafter ; and the fourth is not only pleasant for the time being but also ripens to be pleasant thereafter.

[1] Read 'The Vedalla Sutta as illustrating the psychological basis' by C. A. Foley, M.A. In this paper questions on matters mainly psychological are answered and some miscellaneous philosophical problems, psychological, ethical, logical, and metaphysical are raised and discussed, J.R.A.S., 1894.

Read also Mrs. Rhys Davids' Buddhist Psychology.

In the *Vīmaṁsaka Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 317–320) the Buddha says that the enquiring bhikkhu who searches the heart of others, ought to study the Truth-finder. He ought to study the Truth-finder in respect of the two states of consciousness which come through eye and ear. He should see whether the revered man is restrained in fearlessness or through fear or whether it is solely by reason of passionlessness that he eschews pleasures of senses, having eradicated all passion. If any man's faith in the Truth-finder is planted by the foregoing researches, then such faith is based on insight and reason.

In the *Kosambiya Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 320–325) we are told that once disputes were ripe in Kosambī among the bhikkhus regarding certain Vinaya rules. The Master spoke on amity and its root in order to bring about a conciliation.

In the *Brahmanimantaṇika Sutta*[1] (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 326–331) we are told that the Buddha held conversation with Baka the Brahmā who conceived the pernicious view that this world was permanent with no rebirth thence. The Master explained what was true. Māra tried to conquer both the Buddha and Brahmā, but he failed to do so.

The *Māratajjaniya Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 332–338) is one of those early dialogues which presents an episode of the Buddha and Māra, the tempter. The verses forming the epilogue of the sutta bear a favourable comparison with the Padhāna Sutta in the Sutta Nipāta. *With this sutta closes the first series of* 50 *suttas.*

In the *Kandaraka Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 339–349) Buddha speaks against asceticism. He denounces one who torments himself and is given to self-mortification ; one who torments others and is given to tormenting others ; and one who torments himself and others, and is given to tormenting both. He

[1] Cf. Saṁyutta, I, 142. No mention of Māra in the Bakobrahmā Sutta. Many Brahmakāyikadevas are mentioned in this sutta.

praises one who tormenting neither himself nor others dwells beyond appetites and in bliss and in holiness.

In the *Aṭṭhakanāgara Sutta*[1] (*M.N.*, *I*, 349–353) Ānanda speaks of the steps to Nirvāṇa. A bhikkhu divested of pleasures of senses and divested of wrong states of consciousness, enters on and dwells in the first, the second, the third, and the fourth rapt musings or jhānas. With radiant good will, pity and sympathy and poised equanimity, he pervades the four quarters of the world. By passing beyond perception of material objects, perception of sense-reactions, and perception of differences, he abides in the plane of infinity of space, the plane of infinity of consciousness, and the plane of naught.

In the *Sekha Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 353–359) Ānanda says how a disciple of the Noble is virtuous, keeps watch and ward over the portals of sense, is temperate in eating, vigilant, established in the seven virtuous qualities, and is able at will to induce the four rapt musings[2] which transcend thought and confer well-being here and now.

In the *Potaliya Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 359–368) the Buddha deals with what is true-giving under the law of the Noble. This includes abstention from killing, theft, lying, calumny, covetousness, taunts, anger, and arrogance.

In the *Jīvaka Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 368–371) the Buddha speaks of what is meant by lawful and unlawful meats. A bhikkhu should not take meat if there is the evidence either of his eyes or of his ears or if there are grounds of suspicion that the animal is slain expressly for him. They should take the same in other cases except these three.

In the *Upāli Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 371–387) the Buddha had a conversation with Upāli,[3] a Jain,

[1] Cf. Aṅguttara, V, 342–7.

[2] See Mrs. Rhys Davids' Sakya or Buddhist Origins, pp. 171 foll.

[3] Mrs. Rhys Davids says "in his own way he was worldly enough; the laity looked upon him as the mainstay of a dignified

a follower of Nāthaputta, the Nigaṇṭha. According to the Nigaṇṭhas, there are three kinds of inflictions which effect and start demerit—those of deed, word, and mind. They hold that those of deed are the most criminal in effecting and starting demerit, the other two being less criminal. The gāthās uttered by Upāli in praise of the qualities of the Buddha are pieces of a remarkable composition characterised by majestic and dignified tone (cf. Sūtrakritāṅga, Jaina Sūtras, pt. II, pp. 414–417).

In the *Kukkuravatika-Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp.* 387–392) we are told that to Puṇṇa Koliyaputta who was a man of bovine vow and Seniya, a naked ascetic who was a man of canine vow, Buddha says that the future state of both is either purgatory or rebirth as an animal. The Buddha says that there are four kinds of action (1) actions which are dark, with dark outcome, (2) actions which are bright, with bright outcome, (3) actions which are both dark and bright, with dark and bright outcome, and (4) actions which are neither dark nor bright, with an outcome neither dark nor bright, conducive to the destruction of Karma. Both Puṇṇa and Seniya took refuge in the Buddha.

In the *Abhayarājakumāra Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp.* 392–396) we find that Abhaya-Rāja-Kumāra, a disciple of Nāthaputta the Nigaṇṭha, tried to discredit the Buddha. But the Buddha triumphed over him and the latter took refuge in the Buddhist Triad. It follows from the evidence available in this sutta that Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta was aware of the dissension between the Buddha and Devadatta (*vide* my Historical Gleanings, p. 93).

and self-respecting standard in the monk-world. He attached great importance to discipline" (Gotama the man, p. 215. *Vide* also my Historical Gleanings, p. 92). Mrs. Rhys Davids draws our attention to the fact that the three verses in the collection were not by this Upāli. He was not a poet. Nor are they by Upāli called the barber. They are by an Upāli of whom no memory remains; the commentary is in double error here (Gotama the man, pp. 215-216).

In the *Bahuvedaniya Sutta*[1] (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 396–400) the Lord speaks on the various classes of feelings. Five in number are the pleasures of senses, namely, material shapes apparent to the eye, sound, smell, taste, and touch. Every pleasant gratification which arises from these five pleasures of senses is called sensual pleasure. But this is not the highest pleasure. Beyond this, there is a pleasure more excellent. This is enjoyed by a bhikkhu who abides by the Four Ecstacies or rapt musings, plane of infinity of consciousness and plane of naught.

In the *Apaṇṇaka Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 400–413) the Master expounds the sound doctrine to recluses and brahmins who held views which were diametrically opposed. He discards both and points out the doctrine which is sound, namely, the Master's own doctrine.

In the *Ambalaṭṭhikā Rāhulovāda Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 414–420) the Buddha discourses about lying. He condemns it and advises the bhikkhus to win purity in deed, word and thought by constant reflection. This sutta supplies the Pāli counterpart of the tract referred to in the Bhābrū Edict under a descriptive title, Lāghulavāda Sutta, embodying the Buddha's discourse on the subject of falsehood.

In the *Mahā Rāhulovāda Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 420–426) Sāriputta admonishes Rāhula to develop mindfulness which comes from inhaling and exhaling (breathing exercises).

In the *Cūḷa-Māluṅkya Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 426–432) we are told that Māluṅkyā-Putta was dissatisfied with the life of a recluse as the Buddha did not expound to him the various speculations about the past and present. The Buddha said that he did not expound them as they were irrelevant and not conducive to the higher life.

In the *Mahā-Māluṅkya Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 432–

[1] Cf. Saṁyutta Nikāya, IV, pp. 223–8.

437) the Buddha deals with the five bonds[1] which chain men to the lower life. He also suggests the means to put an end to the five bonds.

In the *Bhaddāli Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 437–447) the Buddha admonishes Bhaddāli to be obedient and to conduct himself according to the Master's teachings.

In the *Laṭukikopama Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 447–456) the Buddha says that there are foolish people who when told to give up something, think that it is a matter of no moment. They do not give it up. But this insignificant thing grows into a bond strong enough to hold them fast. The Laṭukika Jātaka[2] is nothing but a popular illustration of the teaching of this sutta.

In the *Cātuma Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 456–462) the Lord mentions the four terrors (temper, gluttony, the five pleasures of senses and women) which await those who, in this doctrine and rule (Dhammavinaya), go forth from home to homelessness as monks.

In the *Naḷakapāna Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 462–468; the stimulus of example) the Truth-finder's object in saying that such and such a bhikkhu by tearing five bonds, has been translated to a heaven never to come back thence to earth, by tearing the three bonds he is safe from future states of punishment, is not to delude folk, nor to get for himself gains or fame, nor to advertise himself as revealing the respective states hereafter of his disciples, dead and gone. It is because there are young men who believe and are filled with enthusiasm and gladness, who, on hearing this revelation, concentrate their whole hearts on becoming like these, for their own abiding good and welfare. For a popular illustration

[1] The five Orambhāgiyāni Saṃyojanāni are the following:—Sakkāyadiṭṭhi (false view of individuality), Vicikicchā (doubt), Sīlabbataparāmāsa, (affectation of rites), Kāmacchanda (desire for sensual pleasures), and Byāpāda (malevolence).

[2] Fausböll, Jātaka, Vol. III.

of this teaching, one must turn to Naḷakapāna Jātaka.

In the *Gulissāni Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp*. 469–473) Sāriputta discusses the duties of a bhikkhu who comes in from the wilds to the confraternity and lives with the bhikkhus. Such a bhikkhu should show respect and consideration to his fellows in the higher life. He should be correct in the matter of seats, punctilious neither to displace seniors nor to oust juniors. He should not visit the village at too early an hour. He ought to keep watch over his faculties. He should be moderate in his eating and steadfast in good will.

In the *Kīṭāgiri Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp*. 473–481) the Buddha admonishes two bhikkhus to put implicit faith in his teachings. He says that he has the knowledge of what is to be eschewed and that they should give it up.

In the *Tevijja-Vacchagotta Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp*. 481–483) we are told that Vaccha-gotta,[1] a wanderer, had a wrong idea of the lore possessed by the Buddha. The recluse Gotama tells the wanderer that the threefold lore possessed by him is as follows :—he can call to mind his past existences, with eye celestial he can see creatures in act to pass hence and reappear elsewhere, and by destroying evil desires he has won deliverance. In this sutta, Gotama points out that there is none among the Ājīvakas who after death has attained arahatship. He further says that he knows only one among them who has gone to heaven.

In the *Aggi-Vacchagotta Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp*. 483–489) we are told that the Master got Aggivacchagotta as his disciple who put to him questions on the speculations about the past and the future.

In the *Mahāvacchagotta Sutta* (*M.N.*, *I*, *pp*. 489–497) we find that the Lord requested by Vaccha, explains to him what is right and what is wrong. Vaccha is impressed. By his discourses he acts

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[1] See Dr. B. C. Law's Historical Gleanings, p. 19.

up to the teachings of the Master. He is in a short time numbered among the Arahats.

In the *Dīghanakha Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp.* 497–501) Buddha in reply to Dīghanakha's question says that those who are satisfied with all, hold a view which is allied to passion and pleasure. Those who are dissatisfied with all, hold a view which is allied to passionlessness and freedom. Others again partly take the former and partly the latter view. The Master then expounds the doctrine leading to deliverance. This sutta is referred to as Vedanāpariggaha Suttanta in the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā (P.T.S.), I, 96.

In the *Māgandiya Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp.* 501–513) we are told that Māgandiya, a wanderer, described the Buddha in an opprobrious term as a repressionist (Bhūnahu).[1] Buddha said that he was not so. The truth-finder subjugated the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body, consciousness and their respective functions. He preached the doctrine for the subjugation of these. The attainment of the highest gain can be obtained by destroying all these.

In the *Sandaka Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp.* 513–524) Ānanda refers to the four antitheses to the higher life. First, there is the teacher who holds that it does not matter whether actions are good or bad. Secondly, there is a teacher who holds that no evil is done by him who either acts himself or causes another to act, who mutilates or causes another to mutilate. Thirdly, there is a teacher who holds that there is no cause or reason for either depravity or purity. Lastly, there is the teacher who holds the Sattākāya doctrine.

Ānanda also speaks of four comfortless vocations. First, there is the teacher who is all-knowing and all-seeing. Secondly, there is the teacher who

[1] In Sanskrit it is Brunahan, cf. Īśopaniṣad in which the Vājasaneyas speak of some unknown opponents who were perhaps unmarried recluses as ātmahanojanā (*vide* my Historical Gleanings, p. 19).

preaches a doctrine which is both traditional and scriptural. Thirdly, there is the teacher who is a rationalist of pure reason and criticism. Lastly, there is the teacher who is stupid and deficient. All these are false guides to the higher life. *The first volume of the Majjhima Nikāya ends with this sutta.*

In the *Mahāsakuludāyi Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp.* 1–22) the Master deals with the key to pupil's esteem—how a teacher can command the respect of his disciples. In this sutta we read that Sakuludāyi informed the Buddha that in the past Aṅga and Magadha were seething with sophistic activities. Lord Chalmers in his introduction to the Further Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. I, p. xix, points out that it is apparent from this sutta that each individual was left free, within generous limits, to choose the mode of living which suited his own particular needs, even if it included austerities which Gotama neither recommended to others nor practised in his own person.

In the *Samaṇamaṇḍikā Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp.* 22–29) we are told that according to Uggahamāna, a wanderer,[1] four qualities characterise a triumphant recluse who has won all that is to be won. He does nothing evil, he thinks nothing evil, and he gets his living in no evil way. According to the Buddha, however, there are ten qualities which make a bhikkhu a triumphant recluse who is imbued with the right, excels in the right, and has won all that is to be won.

In the *Cūḷasakuludāyi Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp.* 29–39) the Blessed One pointed out the emptiness of the tenets of the wanderer Sakuludāyi, who had a vague idea of what is perfection, and spoke on the Four Ecstacies or rapt musings or abstractions and other states of consciousness while explaining the world of absolute bliss and the sure way to realise it. Sakuludāyi was converted. This sutta further

[1] *Vide* my Historical Gleanings, p. 18.

informs us that according to Mahāvīra, the four precepts and self-privation are the recognised roads to the blissful state of the soul.

In the *Vekhanassa Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp.* 40–44) the Lord proves the emptiness of the tenets of the wanderer Vekhanassa who had a very queer idea of what perfection is. Vekhanassa became a lay disciple of the Buddha. It may be noticed here that Buddhaghosa says that Vekhanassa was the teacher of Sakuludāyi.[1]

In the *Ghaṭikāra Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp.* 45–54) the Blessed One spoke to Ānanda on Ghaṭikāra's (a potter by profession) devotion. Ghaṭikāra[2] had a friend named Jotipāla. Once they went together to Kassapa the Lord. Hearing the doctrine preached by the Lord himself Jotipāla decided to go from home to homelessness as a monk. Ghaṭikāra could not forsake the worldly life as he had to support his aged blind parents. But he in his devotion to the Lord Kassapa surpassed all others and he fulfilled the layman's duties as sanctioned by Buddhism. Once the Lord Kassapa was invited by Kiki, King of Kāsī. Kassapa accepted the invitation and went to Kiki. The King entreated the Lord to spend the vassāvāsa in his kingdom. But Kassapa told the king that he had already promised to Ghaṭikāra to stay at Vehaliṅga under his care. Kassapa then spoke very highly of Ghaṭikāra's devotion.

In the concluding lines Buddha identifies himself with Jotipāla.

In the *Raṭṭhapāla Sutta*[3] (*M.N., II, pp.* 54–74) we find that a true bhikkhu goes from home to

[1] Lord Chalmers, 'Further Dialogues of the Buddha', pt. II, p. 21 f.n.

[2] Cf. Dr. B. C. Law's 'A Study of the Mahāvastu', pp. 45 foll.

[3] There is a paper on the Raṭṭhapāla Sutta by Walter Lupton, I.C.S. The Pāli text together with a translation is given there. The writer has made use of the commentary wherever necessary, J.R.A.S., 1894. The same story is told in practically the same words about Sudiṇṇa in Vinaya, III, 11–15.

homelessness as a monk, when he knows, sees, and hears the following four propositions enumerated by the Master, e.g., the world is in continual flux and change ; the world is no protector or preserver ; the world owns nothing ; the world lacks and hankers being enslaved to craving. That cannot be called a true renunciation when one goes forth from home to homelessness as a monk, for old age, failing health, impoverishment, and death of kinsfolk. The gāthās uttered by Raṭṭhapāla giving out his religious experience are highly interesting as being the prototype of the poems in the Theragāthā (verses 769–788).

In the *Makhādeva Sutta* (*M.N.*, *II*, *pp.* 74–83) we find that Makhādeva, King of Mithilā, in order to seek pleasures celestial, renounced the world. His son also when he enjoyed fully worldly pleasures, left the worldly life. The last of three kings to do so was Nimi. Nimi's son Janaka broke this tradition. This sutta is mentioned in the Culla-niddesa (p. 80, Maghādeva) as one of the four earliest examples of Jātakas (cf. Makhādeva Jātaka, Jātaka, vol. I, No. 9).

In the *Madhura Sutta*[1] (*M.N.*, *II*, *pp.* 83–90) Mahākaccāna speaks against the Brahmanical claims that they are superior to all other castes.

In the *Bodhirājakumāra Sutta* (*M.N.*, *II*, *pp.* 91–97) we find that in reply to Bodhi's question how long it would take a bhikkhu with the Truth-finder as his guide to win the prize of prizes, Buddha says that there must be aptness, in a bhikkhu, to learn.

The *Aṅgulimāla Sutta* (*M.N.*, *II*, *pp.* 97–105) gives a vivid account of taming and conversion of the bandit, Aṅgulimāla by the Buddha. The gāthās uttered by Aṅgulimāla are precisely those attributed to him in the Theragāthā (verses 867–891).

[1] Read a paper on the Madhura Sutta concerning caste by Robert Chalmers. The Pāli text and commentary together with a translation are given here. This paper reveals the Buddhist views of caste, J.R.A.S., 1894 ; cf. Ambaṭṭha Sutta, Dīgha, I, which also deals with the same topic.

In the *Piyajātika Sutta* (*M.N.*, *II*, *pp.* 106–112) the Lord by references to actual facts points out that dear ones do bring sorrow and lamentation, pain, suffering and tribulation.

In the *Bāhitika Sutta* (*M.N.*, *II*, *pp.* 112–117) King Pasenadi conversed with Ānanda on the subject of right and wrong behaviour. This sutta teaches us that behaviour whether of act or of word or of thought is wrong which is blame-worthy, malevolent and which ripens into ill and which conduces to the harm either of one's self or of others or of both together; and that behaviour is right which is divested of all these evils.

In the *Dhammacetiya Sutta* (*M.N.*, *II*, *pp.* 118–125) King Pasenadi commends the doctrine in monumental words. He says that there is always strife going on between kings, nobles, brahmins, and householders, but the bhikkhus live in peace and concord. There are samaṇas and brahmins who are lean miserable creatures, but the almsmen are joyous and joyful beings free from care and worry.

In the *Kaṇṇakatthala Sutta* (*M.N.*, *II*, *pp.* 125–133) Pasenadi asked the Lord about omniscience, about the purity of the four classes of nobles, brahmins, middle-class people and peasants and about the supreme Brahmā. The Buddha explained these in a manner which gladdened the king. According to him at one and the same time, no brahmin could know and see everything. He further said, "a malign Brahmā does return to life on earth, while a benign Brahmā does not".

In the *Brahmāyu Sutta* (*M.N.*, *II*, *pp.* 133–146) the Buddha convinces both the brahmin Brahmāyu and his pupil Uttara that he possesses the thirty-two marks of a superman, viz., "(1) His tread is firmly planted; (2) on his soles are the wheels, complete with a thousand spokes and with felloes and hubs; (3) his heels project; (4) his digits are long; (5) he has soft hands and feet; (6) his fingers and toes spring clean, without webbing between them; (7) his ankles are over the exact middle of his tread; (8)

his legs are like an antelope's; (9) while standing bolt upright, he can, without bending, touch and rub his knees with both hands at once; (10) his privities are within a sheath; (11) golden of hue is he; (12) so fine is his skin's texture that no dust or dirt can lodge on it; (13) each several hair on his body grows separate and distinct, each from its own individual pore; (14) each hair starts straight, is blue-black like collyrium, and curls to the right at the tip; (15) he is as straight as a die; (16) his body shows the same convexities; (17) his chest is like a lion's; (18) his back is flat between the shoulders; (19) his proportions are those of the banyan tree,—his stretch being the same as his height; (20) the curve of his shoulders is symmetrical; (21) his sense of taste is consummate; (22) he has the jaw of a lion; (23) he has forty teeth; (24) his teeth are all the same length; (25) there are no interstices between his teeth; (26) his teeth are sparkling white; (27) his tongue is big; (28) his voice is melodious as the cuckoo's note; (29) the pupils of his eyes are intensely dark; (30) his eyelashes are like a cow's; (31) between his eyebrows grow soft white hairs like cotton-down; and (32) his head is shaped like a turban" (Lord Chalmers, Further Dialogues of the Buddha, Vol. II, pp. 72-73; cf. Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. II, pp. 137 foll.).

In the *Sela Sutta* (*M.N., II, p.* 146) the brahmin Sela, seeing the thirty-two marks[1] in the body of the Buddha, took refuge in the Buddhist Triad.

In the *Assalāyana Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp.* 147–157) the Buddha speaks against the brahmanical pretensions that the brahmins are superior to all other castes. The Madhura Sutta (Majjhima) and the Ambaṭṭha (Dīgha) deal with the same subject. The importance of this sutta lies in its allusions to

[1] Cf. Visuddhimagga (P.T.S.), I, pp. 249–265; pp. 353–363; Paramatthajotikā on the Khuddakapāṭha, I, pp. 41–68; Sammohavinodanī (Sinhalese Ed.), pp. 49–63.

Yonakamboja region where the caste-system of the brahmins did not prevail.

In the *Ghoṭamukha Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp.* 157–163) Udena, a revered Buddhist monk, convinces Ghoṭamukha[1] of the inefficiency of self-torture. The Kandaraka Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya also deals with the same subject.

In the *Caṅkī Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp.* 164–177) the Buddha condemns the brahmanical pretensions that the brahmins are superior to all other castes.

In the *Esukāri Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp.* 177–184) the brahmin Esukāri considers birth as the criterion of division of people. But Buddha does not support it.

In the *Dhānañjāni Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp.* 184–196) we are told that the brahmin Dhānañjāni lacks in zeal for pious acts. Sāriputta convinces the brahmin of merit of pious acts. This sutta furnishes us with an account of the various grades of gods, e.g., Cātummahārājika, Tāvatiṁsa, Yāma, Tusita, Nimmānarati, and Paranimmitavasavattī.[2] After these there is the Brahmaloka.

In the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta* (*M.N., II, p.* 196) the Lord expounds to the young brahmins, Vāseṭṭha and Bharadvāja, as to who is a real brahmin. This sutta recurs in the Sutta Nipāta[3] and forms the canonical source from which half the number of the verses of the Brāhmaṇavagga in the Dhammapada has been derived.

In the *Subha Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp.* 196–209) the Lord explains to the brahmin Subha the real union with Brahmā.

In the *Saṅgārava Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp.* 209–213) we are told that the young brahmin Saṅgārava

[1] Such a name as Ghoṭamukha occurs in the Kāmasūtra by Vātsyāyana. We are entitled on the authority of the Buddhist texts to maintain that Ghoṭamukha was one of the contemporaries of Gotama.

[2] *Vide* Dr. B. C. Law's 'Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective', pp. 6-7.

[3] Sutta No. 9, P.T.S., p. 115.

hearing the exclamation of the brahmin lady Dhānañjāni in praise of the Buddha scolded her for paying respect to a shaveling of a recluse. Later on the young brahmin met the Buddha who, when asked by the brahmin, said that He discerned a Doctrine and so had by insight won the goal and achieved Perfection, recognising the foundations on which the higher life was based. It is interesting to notice that the Buddha in reply to Saṅgārava's question admitted that there were gods.

With this sutta closes the middle series of fifty suttas.

In the *Devadaha Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp.* 214–228) the Buddha characterises the doctrine of the Nigaṇṭhas as fatuous. The Nigaṇṭhas hold that whatever the individual experiences might be, all come from former actions. Hence, by expiation of former misdeeds and by not committing fresh misdeeds, nothing accrues for the future.

In the *Pañcattaya Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp.* 228–238)[1] the Buddha refers to the various schools of thought. The various schools of thought make various assertions about futurity. Some assert that the self is conscious after death while others deny this. Some hold the theory of annihilation of the existing creature while the others do not; Buddha does not support these speculations.

In the *Kinti Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp.* 238–243) the Buddha admonishes the bhikkhus to school themselves in the higher lore, namely, satipaṭṭhāna (mindfulness), bala (five forces or potentialities), indriya (fivefold sphere of sense) and in unity and harmony without strife. If there be any quarrel between a bhikkhu and another on the Abhidhamma, if a bhikkhu be guilty of offence, everything should be settled amicably.

In the *Sāmagāma Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp.* 243–251) the Buddha speaks on unity and concord. After

[1] Cf. Brahmajāla Sutta, Dīgha, I; Saṁyutta Nikāya, III, pp. 213 foll.

the death of the Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta there arose quarrels among the disciples. Ānanda knowing this fact referred the matter to the Master. The Master expounded six conciliatory things which when embraced and practised would lead to no strife among the disciples. This sutta throws some light on the ways in which the wandering teachers spent their time.[1] This sutta is regarded as a Vinaya tract on Adhikaraṇasamatha. It testifies to the fact that Mahāvīra[2] (Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta) predeceased Buddha by a few years.

In the *Sunakkhatta Sutta* (*M.N.*, *II*, *pp.* 252–261) we are told that Sunakkhatta enquired of the Buddha whether the bhikkhus professed all they had really won or extravagant in their professions. The Buddha said, "If a bhikkhu is in full control of his six sense-organs to see in attachments the root of ill, and therefore to detach himself and to find deliverance in removing attachments, such a bhikkhu cannot possibly either surrender his body or devote his thought to attachments".

In the *Āṇañjasappāya Sutta* (*M.N.*, *II*, *pp.* 261–266) the Buddha speaks of what is real permanence. He also explains the several paths that lead to permanence, e.g., the subjugation of the pleasures of senses by developing the heart.

With this sutta ends the second volume of the Majjhima Nikāya.

In the *Gaṇakamoggallāna Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 1–7) we have an important discussion between the Buddha and the brahmin mathematician Moggallāna. The discussion brings home the fact that the brahmanical training was a thoroughly graduated system (anupubbasikkhā, anupubbakiriyā). Although the Buddha claimed that the system as propounded by him also admitted of the idea of graduation, the

[1] Dīgha, I, Brahmajāla Sutta, paragraph 18.

[2] See my paper on Mahāvīra the last Tirthaṅkara of the Jains (Osvāla Navayuvaka, Mahāvīra No., 1932).

sutta makes it clear that graduation in the case of Buddhism was suggested duly by expediency.

In the *Gopakamoggallāna Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 7–15) it is said that there is not a single bhikkhu who in every respect and in every particular has acquired all the qualities possessed by the Buddha. The Lord has traced out a path and his disciples follow him in the path which has come down to them from him.

In the *Mahāpuṇṇama Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 15–20) the question asked is—how does the view of personality (sakkāya-diṭṭhi) arise? The answer is that an uninstructed ordinary man who has no vision of the Noble Ones and is unversed and untrained in the doctrine of the Noble Ones, who has no vision of the Exalted Ones and is unversed and untrained in the doctrine of the Exalted Ones views form as self or self as possessing form or form in self or self in form. He does the same with feeling and perception, with the constituents and with consciousness. This view is not supported by the Buddha.

In the *Cūḷapuṇṇama Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 20–24) we read that the Buddha says that a bad man is bad in his nature, nurtured on bad, bad in his thoughts, speech, doings, views, resolves and in distribution of alms. He further says that a good man is good in his nature, nurtured on good, good in his thoughts, aims, speech, doings, views and in the distribution of alms. The bhikkhus rejoiced in what the Buddha had said.

In the *Anupada Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 25–29) the Buddha praises Sāriputta whose learning and understanding are vast. He has gone through the complete course of training as laid down by the Master. He is consummate in rolling onwards the peerless wheel of the doctrine which the Truth-finder first set a-rolling.

In the *Chabbisodhana Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 29–37) the Blessed One speaks of the sixfold scrutiny by which a bhikkhu is to know whether one is

justified in saying that rebirth is no more; that he has lived the highest life. A bhikkhu should see by what manner of ken and vision one's heart has been absolutely delivered from the cankers with regard to the domain of vision, of hearing, of taste, of smell, of touch, and of apprehension.

In the *Sappurisa Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 37–45) the Lord informs a bhikkhu about the attitude of the good man and of the bad man.

In the *Sevitabba-Asevitabba Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 45–61) the Lord expounds what should be cultivated and what should not be cultivated. Behaviour in act, speech, and thought is not to be cultivated if thereby wrong dispositions wax apace while right dispositions wane, but to be cultivated if thereby wrong dispositions wane while right dispositions wax apace.

In the *Bahudhātuka Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 61–67) the Lord admonishes the bhikkhus to train themselves up to become informed by study in diverse approaches.

In the *Isigili Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 68–71) the Buddha relates the names of those Pacceka-Buddhas[1] who had long been residents on the Mount Isigili, one of the five hills surrounding Rājagaha, the capital of Magadha.

In the *Mahācattārīsaka Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 71–78) the Lord expounds to the bhikkhus right concentration (sammāsamādhi). Right views rank first.

In the *Ānāpānasati Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 78–88) the Lord speaks on breathing exercises.

In the *Kāyagatāsati Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 88–99) the Master deals with meditation on the body—how is mindfulness of the body cultivated and developed so as to abound in fruit and blessings? In reality

[1] Individual Buddha. He is inferior to the Sammāsambuddha. He is not omniscient. He has acquired the knowledge necessary to attain Nirvāṇa but he does not preach it to men.

like the Ānāpāna, the Kāyagatāsati Sutta is only a sectional presentation of the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta.

In the *Saṁkhāruppatti Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 99–103) the Buddha expounds to the bhikkhus how plastic forces (saṁkhāras) arise.

In the *Cūḷasuññata Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 104–109) the Lord deals with true solitude.

In the *Mahāsuññata Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 109–118) true solitude has been explained by the Master to the bhikkhus.

In the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma Sutta*[1] (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 118–124) Ānanda expounds fully the wonders and marvels of Truth-finder's nature.

The *Bakkula Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 124–128) deals with a saint's record. Bakkula said to Acela-Kassapa that during his 80 years of bhikkhuhood he did not commit any sin. He led a life of purity.

In the *Dantabhūmi Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 128–137) the Buddha speaks of discipline. He says it is impossible for one who lives in the lap of enjoyment and pleasure to know or see or realise what is to be known by renouncing worldliness. He should be under training if he likes to see what is to be attained by giving up worldliness.

In the *Bhūmija Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 138–144) the Buddha says that right outlook is essential in order to win the fruits of the higher life.

In the *Anuruddha Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 144–152) the venerable Anuruddha explains to the carpenter Pañcakaṅga what is boundless deliverance, and what is vast deliverance of the heart. If a bhikkhu dwells with radiant thoughts of love pervading all the quarters of the world, the whole length and breadth of the world, above, below, around, everywhere—this is termed the heart's deliverance that is boundless. If the bhikkhu pervades and imbues a

[1] See " The Nativity of the Buddha " by Chalmers dealing with the marvels and mysteries of the Buddha's nativity. This paper contains this sutta with Buddhaghosa's Commentary on it, J.R.A.S., 1895.

single tree with the idea of vastness, that is termed vast deliverance of the heart. Anuruddha then speaks on the four states of rebirth, among the Parittābhā gods, the Appamānābhā gods, the Saṅkiliṭṭhābhā gods, and the Parisuddhābhā gods.

In the *Upakkilesa Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 152–162) we are told that once there was a strife among the Kosambī monks. The Buddha tried to settle the dispute, but he failed. He then retired elsewhere. He admonished Anuruddha, Nandiya, and Kimbila to do away with the blemishes which make the mental reflex (nimitta) fade away.

In the *Bāla-Paṇḍita Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 163–178) the Buddha speaks of men, wise and fool. The sutta forms a prose background of the Bālavagga and the Paṇḍitavagga of the Dhammapada.

In the *Devadūta Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 178–187) the Lord speaks of Heaven's warning messengers. King Yama punishes those that are reported to do evil in the world.

In the *Bhaddekaratta Sutta*, *Ānanda-Bhaddekaratta Sutta Mahākaccāna-Bhaddekaratta Sutta, and Lomasakaṅgiya-Bhaddekaratta Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 187–202) the Lord lays the whole emphasis on not having much to do with the past and the future but on that which concerns oneself mainly with what is immediately present.

In the *Cūḷa and Mahākammavibhaṅga Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 202–215) we find the young brahmin Subha Todeyyaputta asking the Buddha why is it that among human beings there are high and low. The Lord says that their deeds are their possessions and heritage, their parents, their kindred, and their refuge, and that it is their deeds which divide the beings into high and low.

In the *Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 215–222) we have an exposition of the six spheres of sense more or less of the Abhidhamma type. Indeed this sutta is the sutta counterpart of the Abhidhamma exposition of āyatanas in the Vibhaṅga.

In the *Uddesavibhaṅga Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 223–229) Mahākaccāna says that an almsman's thinking should always be so conducted that, as he thinks, his mind may not either be externally diffused and dissipated or be internally set, and that through non-dependence he may be imperturbed, so that, with his mind thus secure, birth, old age and death and the arising of all ill do not happen.

In the *Araṇavibhaṅga Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 230–237) the Lord explains to the bhikkhus the detailed exposition of calm. A man should neither give himself over to pleasures of senses nor give himself over to self-mortification. He should follow the Noble Eightfold Path for complete deliverance. This sutta is essentially a philosophical discourse as to the judicious use of the local terms signifying distinct objects.

In the *Dhātuvibhaṅga Sutta* (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 237–247) the Buddha expounds to the revered Pakkusāti the six elements, earth, water, fire, air, space, and consciousness. This forms the suttanta counterpart of the Abhidhamma exposition of dhātus in the Vibhaṅga.

The *Saccavibhaṅga Sutta*[1] (*M.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 248–252) corresponding to the Saccaniddesa in the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya expounds fully the four Noble Truths[2] and the Noble Eightfold Path.

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1 The Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya consists of two parts. The first part deals with the four satipaṭṭhānas while the second part deals with the four Aryan Truths and the Noble Eightfold Path. In the Majjhima Nikāya the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta and the Saccavibhaṅga Sutta together contain what has been set forth in the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Suttanta. In the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta only the four satipaṭṭhānas have been explained while the Saccavibhaṅga Sutta explains only the four Aryan Truths and the Noble Eightfold Path.

2 Cattāri ariyasaccāni, e.g. dukkha, dukkhasamudaya, dukkhanirodha and dukkhanirodhagāminipaṭipadā ; ariya aṭṭhaṅgikamagga, e.g. sammādiṭṭhi, sammāsaṁkappo, sammāvācā, sammākammanto, sammā-ājīva, sammāvāyāma, sammā sati, and sammā samādhi, that is, right views, right thoughts, right speech, right action, right living, right exertion, right recollection, and right meditation.

In the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga Sutta* (*M.N., III, pp.* 253–257) the Lord gives an analysis of almsgiving. Donations to individuals are ranked in fourteen grades, e.g. a Truth-finder, Arahat, All-Enlightened, Pacceka-Buddha, Truth-finder's arahat disciples, one on the way to become a perfected arahat, one who will never be reborn on earth, and so on.

In the *Anāthapiṇḍikovāda Sutta* (*M.N., III, pp.* 258–263) we are told that when Anāthapiṇḍika became seriously ill, he sent a man to go in his name to the Lord and the venerable Sāriputta, and bowing at their feet, to say how ill he was and how he bowed his head at the feet of the Lord and the venerable Sāriputta. Sāriputta accompanied by Ānanda came to Anāthapiṇḍika's house. Sāriputta exhorted the householder not to be a creature of sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, and mind. He should not also be a creature of the elements such as earth, water, fire, wind, space, and consciousness. He should not be a creature of the plastic forces, of the Realm of Infinity of space, of the Realm of Naught, and of the realm of neither perception nor non-perception. The exhortation was over, Sāriputta[1] and Ānanda rose up and departed; nor had they gone long when the householder Anāthapiṇḍika, at his body's dissolution after death, passed away to the Tusita heaven.

The *Channovādo Sutta* (*M.N., III, pp.* 263–266) deals with Channa's suicide. Channa became seriously ill and was bent on committing suicide. Sāriputta exhorted him not to do so. But Channa did not listen to Sāriputta's exhortation and used the knife on himself.

In the *Puṇṇovāda Sutta* (*M.N., III, pp.* 267–270) Puṇṇa asked the Buddha how having listened to the Lord's doctrine, he should live alone and aloof,

[1] A leading and eloquent pupil of the school of Sañjaya, the dialectician. Among debaters Sāriputta was eminent and could get the better in any argument (Gotama the man, p. 109).

strenuous and purged of self. The Lord gave counsel to Puṇṇa.[1]

The *Nandakovāda Sutta* (*M.N., III, pp.* 270–277) deals with Nandaka's homily to bhikkhunīs. Nandaka preaches to bhikkhunīs on the impermanency of sight, forms, and six groups of perception.

In the *Cūḷarāhulovāda Sutta* (*M.N., III, pp.* 277–280) the Lord admonishes Rāhula, who is ripe in the qualities which mature into deliverance, in order to school him in the eradication of the cankers. He speaks of transitoriness of things material.

In the *Chachakka Sutta* (*M.N., III, pp.* 280–287) the Lord explains to the bhikkhus the six sixes—six internal senses (senses of hearing, sight, smell, taste, touch, and mind), six external sense-objects (forms, sounds, odours, savours, touch, mental objects), six groups of perceptions (sight and forms, hearing and sounds, smell and odours, taste and savours, touch and tangible objects, mind and mental objects), and six groups of cravings. *With this sutta ought to have closed the third or the last group of fifty suttas.*

In the *Mahāsaḷāyatanika Sutta* (*M.N., III, pp.* 287–290) the Blessed One instructs the bhikkhus in the import of the six great domains of sense (the sense of sight, the sense of hearing, the sense of smelling, the sense of taste, the sense of touch, and the sense of comprehending).

In the *Nagaravindeyya Sutta* (*M.N., III, pp.* 290–293) we are told that once the Lord went to the brahmin village of Nagaravinda in Kosala. The brahmins of Nagaravinda went to the Lord who spoke on the types of recluses and brahmins who should or should not receive honour, reverence, and devotion. The Lord said that those recluses

[1] He was a man of iron will, but, wilful, he willed to go his own way. He understood the real object of the Jhāna-musing. More than most men he dwelt 'lokuttara' beyond this world (Gotama the man, p. 113).

and brahmins should get honour who had shed all lust in connection with the six domains of sense.

In the *Piṇḍapātapārisuddhi Sutta* (*M.N., III, pp.* 293–297) the Master speaks of the perils of the daily round.

In the *Indriyabhāvanā Sutta* (*M.N., III, pp.* 298–302) the Lord speaks on the culture of faculties. The brahmanical culture of the faculties was according to him faulty. It is when a man neither sees forms with his eyes nor hears sounds with his ears. But according to the rule of the Noble it is when a bhikkhu is indifferent to something agreeable or disagreeable which results either from his seeing forms with the eyes or from his hearing sounds with the ears. *With this sutta ends the third or the last volume of the Majjhima Nikāya.*

C. The Saṁyutta Nikāya

The Saṁyutta Nikāya is the third nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka. Mrs. Rhys Davids translates it by 'grouped suttas' or 'the Book of the Kindred Sayings'. This book has been edited for the P.T.S., in five volumes by Leon Feer. The sixth volume [1] containing indexes has been prepared by Mrs. Rhys Davids. The Saṁyutta Nikāya has been translated into English by Mrs. Rhys Davids assisted by Suriyagoda Sumaṅgala Thera in pt. I, and assisted by F. L. Woodward in pt. II, and in pts. III, IV, and V, F. L. Woodward has done the entire translation work. There is a German translation of this text by W. Geiger, München, 1925.[2] The Sinhalese [3] and Burmese editions of this work are available. The Saṁyutta Nikāya consists of the following saṁyuttas or groups :—

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[1] In this volume Mrs. Rhys Davids acknowledges her indebtedness to her deceased husband in quoting references given to words, parallel passages, etc. from her husband's annotations and dictionary collectanea.

[2] Vols. I and II have been published (II first and then I), Sagāthavagga and Nidānavagga.

[3] Saṁyutta Nikāya, Ed. B. Amar Sinha, Welitara, 1898.

Part I—Sagāthavagga—

1.	Devatā	Saṁyutta	consisting	of 8	chapters.
2.	Devaputta	,,	,,	,, 3	,,
3.	Kosala	,,	,,	,, 3	,,
4.	Māra	,,	,,	,, 3	,,
5.	Bhikkhuṇī	,,			
6.	Brahma	,,	,,	,, 2	,,
7.	Brāhmaṇa	,,	,,	,, 2	,,
8.	Vaṅgīsa	,,			
9.	Vana	,,			
10.	Yakkha	,,			
11.	Sakka	,,	,,	,, 3	,,

Part II—Nidānavagga—

1.	Nidāna	Saṁyutta	consisting	of 9	chapters.
2.	Abhisamaya	,,			
3.	Dhātu	,,	,,	,, 4	,,
4.	Anamatagga	,,	,,	,, 2	,,
5.	Kassapa	,,			
6.	Lābhasakkāra	,,	,,	,, 4	,,
7.	Rāhula	,,	,,	,, 2	,,
8.	Lakkhaṇa	,,	,,	,, 2	,,
9.	Opamma	,,			
10.	Bhikkhu	,,			

Part III—Khandhavagga—

1. Khandha Saṁyutta divided into three sections of 5 chapters each.

2.	Rādha	Saṁyutta	consisting	of 4	chapters.
3.	Diṭṭhi	,,	,,	,, 2	,,
4.	Okkantika	,,			
5.	Uppāda	,,			
6.	Kilesa	,,			
7.	Sāriputta	,,			
8.	Nāga	,,			
9.	Supaṇṇa	,,			
10.	Gandhabbakāya	,,			
11.	Valāha	,,			
12.	Vacchagotta	,,			
13.	Jhāna (or Samādhi)	Saṁyutta.			

Part IV—Saḷāyatanavagga—

1. Saḷāyatana Saṁyutta divided into 4 sections of which the first three 5 chapters each and the last 4 chapters only.
2. Vedanā Saṁyutta consisting of 3 chapters.
3. Mātugāma „ „ „ 3 „
4. Jambukhādaka „
5. Sāmaṇḍaka „
6. Moggalāna „
7. Citta „
8. Gāmani „
9. Asaṅkhata „ „ „ – „
10. Avyākata „

Part V—Mahāvagga—

1. Magga Saṁyutta consisting of 8 chapters.
2. Bojjhaṅga „ „ „ 18 „
3. Satipaṭṭhāna „ „ „ 10 „
4. Indriya „ „ „ 17 „
5. Sammappadhāna „ „ 5 „
6. Bala „ „ „ 10 „
7. Iddhipāda „ „ „ 8 „
8. Anuruddha „ „ „ 2 „
9. Jhāna „ „ „ 5 „
10. Ānāpāṇa „ „ „ 2 „
11. Sotāpatti „ „ „ 7 „
12. Sacca „ „ „ 11 „

The Saṁyutta Nikāya is a compilation of suttas with their main bearings on psycho-ethical and philosophical problems. In the preface to the Book of the Kindred Sayings, Part I (pp. V–VIII), Mrs. Rhys Davids says that these are concise prose discourses contained for the most part in the volumes numbered II, III, and IV, of the Pāli Text Society's edition. She further observes that the mass of these little suttas, slight and concise sketches, with the verses which sum them up, or which they, the suttas, explain—many of them very poor poetry as such—dealing with legends of fairies, gods, and devils, with royal and priestly interviewers of the

sublime teacher, may seem a tantalising jungle to the traveller bound for the hills of thought more austere. But let him enter with open mind and sympathetic imagination awake. So will he wander not unrewarded. He will find himself for the most part in a woodland of faërie, opening out here on a settlement of religious brethren, there on scenes of life in rural communities such as might well be met in the India of to-day, or indeed in other countries. Mythical and folk-lore drapery are wrapped about many of the sayings here ascribed to the Buddha. Nevertheless, the matter of them is of the stamp of the oldest doctrine known to us, and from them a fairly complete synopsis of the ancient dhamma might be compiled. And short and terse as are the presentations of both saying and episode, they contribute not a little to body out our somewhat vague outline of India's greatest son, so that we receive successive impressions of his great good sense, his willingness to adapt his sayings to the individual inquirer, his keen intuition, his humour and smiling irony, his courage and dignity, his catholic and tender compassion for all creatures.

It may be interesting to give below a gist of all the saṁyuttas.

In the *Devatā Saṁyutta*[1] (*S.N., I, pp.* 1–45)

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[1] Cf. Saṁyutta Nikāya, I, p. 3—

"Accenti kālā tarayanti rattiyo,
vayoguṇā anupubbaṁ jahanti,
etaṁ bhayaṁ marane pekkhamāno
puññāni kayirātha sukhāvahānīti."

The repetition of the first two lines with varying conclusion in Jātaka, IV, p. 487.

Saṁyutta Nikāya, I, 7—

"Niddā tandī vijambhikā, aratī bhattasammado,
etena nappakāsati, ariyamaggo idha pāṇinan-ti."

The first two lines occur in Jātaka, VI, 57.

Cf. also Vibhaṅga, 352, cited by Buddhaghosa and Saṁyutta Nikāya, V, 64; Aṅguttara Nikāya, I, 3.

Cf. Saṁyutta Nikāya, I, pp. 8-9—

"Abhutvā bhikkhasi bhikkhu, na hi bhutvāna bhikkhasi, bhutvāna bhikkhu bhikkhassu, mā taṁ kālo upaccagāti kālaṁ vo-haṁ na jānāmi, channo kālo na dissati, tasmā abhutvā bhikkhāmi, mā maṁ kālo upaccagāti."

certain devatās or gods put some questions to the Blessed One and the latter explains the same clearly. He gives an enigmatic reply to the question how he has put an end to the fourfold wave of craving for sensual joys, rebirth, erroneous opinions, and ignorance-begotten desires. He also

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These verses are verbatim those in the Samiddhi Jātaka (Vol. II, pp. 57-58). The story is the same, the diction a little different. The devatā in the Nikāya is shown in the Jātaka to be a deva-dhītā or goddess.

Saṁyutta Nikāya, I, p. 11.

" Akkheyyasaññino sattā, akkheyyasmiṁ patiṭṭhitā,
akkheyyam apariññāya, yogam āyanti maccuno
akkheyyañ ca pariññāya, akkhātāraṁ na maññati
taṁ hi tassa na hotīti, yena naṁ vajjā na tassa atthi."

The verses occur in the Itivuttaka § 63, the last two lines are quite different.

Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 13.

" Yo appaduṭṭhassa narassa dussati,
suddhassa posassa anaṅgaṇassa,
tam eva bālaṁ pacceti pāpaṁ,
sukhumo rajo paṭivātaṁ va khitto-ti."

These lines occur in the Dhammapada, verse 125.

Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 19.

"Duddadaṁ dadamānānaṁ, dukkaraṁ kamma kubbataṁ
asanto nānukubbanti, sataṁ dhammo durannayo
tasmā satañca asatañca, nānā hoti ito gati
asanto nirayaṁ yanti, santo saggaparāyanā ti."

This gāthā is that of the Duddada (hard to give), Jātaka No. 180. All the verses occur in the Biḷārikosiya Jātaka, No. 450.

Saṁyutta Nikāya, I, 20-21—

"Sādhu kho mārisa dānaṁ,
Appasmiṁ pi sādhu dānaṁ,
Saddhāya pi sādhu dānaṁ
Dhammaladdhassa pi sādhu dānaṁ
Api ca viceyyadānam pi sādhu,
Yo pāṇabhūtesu aheṭhayaṁ caraṁ
parūpavādā na koroti pāpaṁ,
bhīruṁ pasaṁsanti na hi tattha sūraṁ,
bhayā hi santo na karonti pāpan-ti."
" Sādhu kho mārisa dānam
Appasmim pi sādhu dānam
Api ca saddhāya pi sādhu dānam,
Dānañca yuddhañca samānam āhu,
Appāpi santā bahuke jinanti
Appam pi ce saddahāno dadāti,
ten-eva so hoti sukhī paratthā ti,"

The fresh matter in the two gāthās occurs in the Āditta Jātaka, (III, 472).

explains how one can attain deliverance from sin and detachment from misery and sorrow by doing away with lust and the five khandhas or aggregates.

In the *Devaputta Saṁyutta* (*S.N., pt. I, pp.* 46–67) we find that certain devaputtas or sons of the gods put some questions to the Great Buddha and the latter explains these to their full satisfaction. Thus the Buddha says that one should give up wrath if one wishes to be happy in life, and should keep company with good men.

The whole of the *Kosala Saṁyutta*[1] (*S.N., I, pp.* 68–102) is devoted to Pasenadi, King of Kosala. Some twenty-five anecdotes are told of him. He was at first a Hindu and the Brāhmin Bāvarī was his preceptor. This is evident from the fact that a great sacrifice was arranged to be held for the king. But later on he became an ardent supporter of the Buddha. We are told that there broke out a war between Ajātasattu, King of Magadha, and Pasenadi, King of Kosala, nephew and uncle, for the possession of the township of Kāsī. At first victory inclined to Ajātasattu. But later on he was defeated and taken prisoner. Pasenadi, however, married his daughter, Vajirā, to Ajātasattu and made over the township of Kāsī to his son-in-law as a pin money.

Saṁyutta Nikāya, I, 22.

" Na te kāmā yāni citrāni loke,
Saṅkapparāgo purisassa kāmo,
tiṭṭhanti citrāni tath-eva loke,
ath-ettha dhīrā vinayanti chandam."

This gāthā in the Aṅguttara Nikāya, III, 411, is ascribed to the Buddha and is quoted in the Kathāvatthu. It is also quoted with variations in our commentary with reference to the Pasūra sutta in the Sutta Nipāta.

Saṁyutta Nikāya, I, 23.

" Kodham jahe vippajaheyya mānam."

This line occurs in Dhammapada, 221.

Saṁyutta Nikāya, I, 25.

The Samayo sutta is verbatim the opening part of the Mahāsamaya (or the great concourse) suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya, II, 253 f. (Dialogues, II, 282 f.).

[1] Read Sage and King in Kosala Saṁyutta by Mrs. Rhys Davids (R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Vol., pp. 133–138).

The *Māra Saṁyutta* (*S.N., pt. I*, 103–127) deals with the Buddha's encounter with Māra, the Evil One. When the Buddha obtained Enlightenment, Māra tried every means so that the Master might give up the holy life. Desirous of making the Exalted One feel dread and horror, he turned himself into the likeness of a king-elephant, assumed the mighty appearance of a king of the snakes, and drew near to the Blessed One. Standing on the crest of the hill, he hurled huge rocks which fell incessantly, crushing against each other. He urged the householders of Pañcasāla not to give alms to Gotama the recluse. But his attempts were all in vain. These could not prevent the Blessed One and his followers from leading a pious life.

In the *Bhikkhuṇī Saṁyutta* (*S.N., pt. I, pp.* 128–135) we find that Māra, the Evil One, tried to desist Gotamī, Uppalavaṇṇā, Vajirā, and certain other Bhikkhuṇīs from following the path laid down by the Blessed One. But those sisters recognised Māra, and the latter went away sorrowful.

In the *Brahma Saṁyutta* (*S.N., pt. I, pp.* 136–159) Brahmā persuaded the Buddha to preach the doctrine. After reaching perfect Enlightenment the Buddha did not wish to preach the Norm, for others might not acknowledge him. Out of compassion for the worldly beings Brahmā Sahampati entreated the Blessed One to preach the Doctrine by following which people might not suffer from the sorrows of the world. After much deliberation the Lord acceded to the request of Brahmā.

In the *Brāhmaṇa Saṁyutta* (*S.N., I, pp.* 160–184) we find the conversions of Bhāradvāja brahmin and some other brāhmaṇas of Bharadvāja gotta. The wife of the Bhāradvāja brahmin, a Dhanañjāni brāhmaṇī, was a follower of the Buddha. Tired of the proclamation of her faith in the Buddhist Triad, Bharadvāja once went to see the Buddha. He was so much impressed by the discourses of the Buddha that he forthwith left the world and took refuge in the Buddha. Following him other

brahmins of the Bharadvāja gotta also became followers of the Buddha.

The *Vaṅgīsa Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 185–196) deals with how the thera Vaṅgīsa quelled his passion. Once, while a novice, he was staying near Āḷavi at the chief temple of that place, together with his tutor, the venerable Nigrodha-kappa. Then a number of women, gaily adorned, came to see the vihāra. At the first sight of the women, discontent arose in him and lust harassed his heart. But he saw the evils and himself got rid of his disaffection.

The *Vana Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 197–205) deals with how certain forest deities put some bhikkhus, who transgressed the Law, on the right path. A certain bhikkhu was once staying among the Kosalans in a certain forest tract. But he indulged in wrong and evil thoughts connected with worldly matters. Then a deva who haunted the forest, out of compassion for the brother, admonished him to give up the wrong path. The sutta also speaks of other bhikkhus who were also set on the right path by the forest deities.

In the *Yakkha Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, I, *pp.* 206–215) we read that the Blessed One dwelt in the house of Yakkha Indaka in the Indakūṭa mountain. He spoke to the Buddha thus, "Form is not living principle in the opinion of the Buddhas. How does the soul possess this body ? Whence to soul does come the lump of bones and liver ? How does this soul hide within the belly ?" The Buddha answered thus, "At first the Kalala takes birth and thence the abbuda and so forth".

A yakkha named Sakka approached the Buddha while he was dwelling in the Gijjhakūṭa mountain and addressed him thus, "A monk is free from all ties, is one who instructs others in the dhamma. He who instructs others in the dhamma with a compassionate mind is in no way bound, compassion moves him and sympathy".

A yakkha named Suciloma spoke to the Blessed One, "Don't be afraid, oh Samaṇa". The Lord

answered, " I am not afraid, contact with you is sinful ". The Yakkha put the following questions to him, " Say, wherefore passion and hatred are caused, discontentment, delight, and terror—whence have they come, wherefrom spring thoughts into the mind ". The Blessed one answered, " They who know self and wherefrom it rises, they crush it down, listen to me, O yakkha, they cross this flood which is difficult to be crossed ; so they may never come back again to rebirth ".

A yakkha named Maṇibhadda addressed the Blessed One thus while he was dwelling in his house, " Luck always comes to him whose mind is alert, he prospers with increasing happiness. To-morrow is a better day for him and he is free from enmity ". The Exalted One answered him by repeating the first three lines and pointed out to him, " For him whose mind ever by night and day is given up to hatred, is not released from all hate ; he who takes delight in harmlessness and kindness, bearing his share in love for all that lives, in him no hate is found."

The Exalted One was once staying at Sāvatthī in the Jetavana grove of Anāthapiṇḍaka. A child named Sānu of a certain lay female devotee was possessed by a yakkha. Mother uttered some verses in lamentation saying that she has kept the fast, firm in the eight precepts, the extra fast and so forth. The demon in possession of Sānu said thus, " On the 14th and 15th day and on the 8th of either half of the month who keep the fast, firm in the eight precepts, the extra fast and so forth, with such the demons make no cruel sport ". The child Sānu[1] said thus, " Mother, they weep for the dead or the living whom they cannot see, but O mother ! why are you mourning for him, who is here and alive ". The mother answered, " They mourn for the dead son or the living son whom they cannot see. They also

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[1] Cf. Psalms of the Brethren pp. 48-49 ; Dhammapada Commentary, IV, pp. 18 foll.

mourn for him who has renounced the world." The mother requested her son to come back again.

A yakkhinī known as Piyaṅkara's mother satisfied her son by saying "Make no noise, O Piyaṅkara! The monk is uttering holy words. If we can hear and learn those holy words and practise them, it will be for our good. If we can knowingly utter no lies, train ourselves to do the things we ought to do, we may be spared from this demon world."

A yakkhinī named Punabbasu's mother satisfied her little children thus, "Oh silence little Uttarā! Be still Punabbasu that I may hear the Norm taught by the master. Nibbāna is the deliverance from every tie and for that truth my love is passing great. One's own son is dear in this world and dear is also one's own husband; dearer still than these is the path of Dhamma. Neither child nor husband can save us from suffering as by hearing the true law living beings are saved from suffering". Punabbasu remained silent and so also Uttarā.

A yakkha named Sivaka himself invisible caused a sound to be heard, "A hundred elephants and horses and a hundred chariots drawn by mules, a hundred thousand maidens adorned with rings in their ears—all are not worth the 16th fraction of a single stride. Advance, O householder, go forward! (abhikkama gahapati), advance for you is better than retreat." As soon as this sound was heard darkness vanished to Anāthapiṇḍika, all this happened a second and a third time, then Anāthapiṇḍika approached the Lord who said thus, "A Brāhmaṇa after having reached parinibbāṇa always takes rest in happiness, who does not cleave to sensual pleasure, calm and devoid of substance. After cutting out all roots of attachment and subduing the pain of the heart, calm and serene, he takes rest happily for in his mind he has attained peace".

A yakkha enthusiastic about a bhikkhuṇī named Sukkā went to Rājagaha going from chariot road to chariot road, from cross ways to cross ways and

spoke about the path leading to nibbāṇa.[1] The Buddha was once staying at Rājagaha in the Bamboo grove at Veluvana. A certain lay follower then gave food to another bhikkhuṇī of the same name Sukkā. A yakkha enthusiastic about her went to Rājagaha and spoke that the lay man had accumulated much merit by supplying the wants of Sukkā who was free from all bonds.

A lay follower gave food to a bhikkhuṇī named Vīrā or Cīrā. A yakkha enthusiastic about her said that a lay follower had accumulated much merit by supplying her wants. The Blessed One was once staying in the house of a yakkha named Āḷavaka. The yakkha said to him, "Get out, O Monk!" The Exalted One obeyed his command. The yakkha again asked him to come in and the Exalted One came in. Thus the yakkha ordered the Exalted One a second and a third time and each time the Master complied.

The yakkha again said to him, "Come out" This time the Master refused to do so. The yakkha said thus, "I will ask you, O Monk! a question. If you will not answer I will either derange your mind or split your heart or take you by the feet and throw you over the Ganges". The Buddha told him thus, "I find no one in the whole world who is able to do any one of these things to me. Ask according to your desire". The Blessed One in answer to the yakkha said, "Fate is the best wealth that a man can have; right deeds well-performed bring happiness. Life lived by wisdom is the best." The Blessed One further answered the questions put to him thus, "By faith you can easily pass over the flood; by zeal you can pass over the watery waste; by energy you can overcome ill and woe; by wisdom you can win utter purity." The Exalted One further said, "He who believes in the Dhamma of the Arahants,

[1] See my paper on Nirvāṇa and Buddhist laymen (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. xiv, pts. I-II, pp. 80–86).

leading to Nibbāna, being ardent and skilful, acquires wisdom. A fit person who bears the burden obtains riches with vigour, he wins fame by speaking truth, he binds friends by gift. Thus he will not suffer in this world and in the next. He who seeks the life of a believer and who has these four : truth, self-control, patience, and self-sacrifice, will not suffer in this world and in the next." The yakkha became very much pleased with the Buddha and said, "I will now travel from village to village, and from town to town, paying reverence to the Exalted One and to the seemly Order of the Norm (Dhammassa Sudhammataṁ) preached by the Buddha ".

In the *Sakka Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *I*, *pp.* 216–240) we find that the Blessed One told the bhikkhus how Sakka became king of the world of the thirty-three gods by meritorious acts. Once there broke out a war between the gods and the asuras. The asuras were defeated and their ruler Vepacitti was taken prisoner. Vepacitti, when brought before Sakka, reviled the latter and withdrew with coarse words. But Sakka knowing the ruler of the asuras to be a fool did not do any harm to him and patiently forebore the insult. In this way various other qualities of Sakka are narrated in this Saṁyutta.

In the *Nidāna Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *pt. II*, *pp.* 1–133) we find that the Blessed One explained to the bhikkhus the chain of causation which begins with avijjā or ignorance and ends with birth, old age, and death leading to grief, lamentation, suffering, sorrow, and despair ; the four sustenances (material food, contact, volition, and consciousness) and the bases of knowledge (knowledge that decay-and-death is conditioned by birth, knowledge that where birth is not there is no decay-and-death, etc. ; knowledge in the nature of decay-and-death, in its uprising, its ceasing, and in the way leading to its ceasing, knowledge in the nature of birth, becoming, grasping, craving, feeling, contact, sense, etc. ; knowledge in the uprising and ceasing of each, and knowledge in the way leading to their ceasing).

In the *Abhisamaya Saṁyutta*[1] (*S.N.*, *II*, *pp.* 133–139) the Blessed One says that for the Ariyan disciple it is the greater ill to think that little is the ill that remains when measured with the former ill which for him is wholly perished. So he should not cease to strive to put an end to little ill that still remains, otherwise he cannot be said to have a perfect vision.

In the *Dhātu Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *II*, *pp.* 140–177) the Lord speaks on the dhātus or elements. In explaining the diversity in elements he speaks of the elements of eye, of visible object, of eye-awareness; the elements of ear, of sound, of ear-awareness; the elements of nose, of odour, of nose-awareness; the elements of tongue, of taste, of tongue-awareness; the elements of body, of tangibles, of body-awareness; the elements of mind, of ideas, of mind-awareness; the radiant-element (revealed through darkness); the beauty-element (revealed through ugliness); the space-infinity-element (revealed through visible object), etc. He further says that because of the diversity in elements, arises diversity of contact from which arises diversity of feeling.

In the *Anamatagga Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *II*, *pp.* 178–193), Buddha says that the beginning of one who is fairing on, cloaked in ignorance and tied to craving, cannot be known.

In the *Kassapa Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *II*, *pp.* 194–225) the venerable Kassapa is praised for his contentment. He is content with no matter what robe, with no matter what alms, with no matter what lodging, with no matter what store of medicines. He is comparable to the moon when he goes among the families, drawing back in both heart and demeanour, even as a new-comer he is unobtrusive among the

[1] Cf. Saṁyutta, II, 134—'Sattakkhattuṁ paramatā' cf. Points of Controversy, 77,268; Saṁyutta, V, 458; Aṅguttara, I, 233 f. The commentary explains as 'a measure of seven lives (bhavā) or rebirths'.

families. The Blessed One then exhorts the bhikkhus to be like Kassapa.

In the *Lābhasakkāra Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *II*, *pp.* 225–244) Buddha says that just as a fish swallowing the fisherman's hook falls into misfortune so also the bhikkhus are liable to misfortune if they seek after gain and favour.

In the *Rāhula Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *II*, *pp.* 244–253) the Blessed One speaks to Rāhula on the subject of discipline. Sight, hearing, smelling, taste, touch, and mind—all these are fleeting and so unhappy. So that which is fleeting, unhappy and changeable, it is not fit to consider that as 'This is mine', 'This I am', 'This is my spirit'. One should not have notions of an 'I', nor of 'mine', nor an insidious tendency to vain conceits in the matter of this body with its mind. He who fully understands all these, is really at peace.

In the *Lakkhaṇa Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *II*, *pp.* 254–262) we read that the venerable Lakkhaṇa enquired of Mahā-Moggallāna why he laughed while Lakkhaṇa and Moggallāna were wandering about seeking alms and Moggallāna explained these to Lakkhaṇa and the other bhikkhus assembled in the presence of the Blessed One.

In the *Opamma Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *II*, *pp.* 262–272) the Lord says that all sinful acts may be traced to avijjā or ignorance. According to him all wrong states have their origin in ignorance. The Blessed One also exhorts the bhikkhus to be strenuous and zealous in energy, otherwise to them, Māra, the Evil One, will gain access, just as Ajātasattu will get occasion to overthrow the Licchavis when they will not be strenuous and zealous in their service.

In the *Bhikkhu Saṁyutta*[1] (*S.N.*, *II*, *pp.* 273–286) we find Mahā-Moggallāna explaining to the bhikkhus that which is called 'Aryan silence' which is enjoyed

[1] Cf. Saṁyutta Nikāya, II, 278-
'Māraṁ savāhananti'

by one who resides in the second jhāna. Among other things we also find the Buddha addressing Nanda and Tissa and other monks to follow the bhikkhu life strictly as laid down by him.

The *Khandha Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 1–188) deals with the five Khandhas or constituent elements. Those who are unskilled in the Aryan doctrine are possessed of the ideas 'body is mine', 'feeling is mine', 'perception is mine,' 'consciousness is mine', and regard activities as the self and the self as having activities, etc. When these five Khandhas or constituent elements change owing to their unstable and changeful nature, then sorrow and despair arise in them. But to him who is well trained in the Aryan doctrine, such a state of thing does not happen. The Blessed One also deals with the seven points. A brother who is skilled in these points is called 'accomplished in this Norm and Discipline'. The seven points are: a brother fully knows his body, the arising of the body, the ceasing of the body, and the way leading to the ceasing of the body; he fully knows the satisfaction there is in the body, the misery that is in the body, and the escape from the body. He fully knows feeling in like manner, and perception, the confections, and consciousness. The Lord further says that he who clings to the five Khandhas is a Māra's bondsman; but he who does not, is released from the evil one. The perceiving of impermanence, if practised and enlarged, wears out all sensual lust, all lust of rebirth, all ignorance wears out, and tears out all conceit of 'I am'. But in what way does it so wear them out? By seeing, 'such is body; such

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Cf. Dhammapada, verse 175;
Saṁyutta Nikāya, II, 284—
'Divā tapati ādicco|| rattiṁ ābhāti candimā||
Sannaddho khattiyo tapati || jhāyi tapati brāhmaṇo ||
Atha sabbamahorattiṁ || Buddho tapati tejasāti ||'
cf. Dhammapada, verse 387
'Khattiyo seṭṭho jane tasmiṁ || ye gottapaṭisārino
vijjācaraṇa sampanno || so seṭṭho devamānuse ||'
cf. Dīgha Nikāya, III, p. 98, Aggañña Suttanta.

is the arising of the body; such is the ceasing of the body, such is feeling, such is perception, and such are the confections'.

In the *Rādha Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 188–201) the Buddha replies to the questions asked by the venerable Rādha on some parts of the teachings of the Lord. He explains (1) Māra by saying that where a body is, there would be Māra or things of the nature of Māra, or at any rate what is perishing; (2) a being by saying that craving which is concerned with body, with feeling, with perception, with confections, and with consciousness is entangled thereby, therefore is one called a being; and (3) impermanence by saying that body is impermanent, feeling is impermanent, and so are perception, confections, and consciousness.

The *Diṭṭhi Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 202–224) explains the origin of certain views. Buddha says that by clinging to body, feeling, perception, confections, and consciousness (that is to say, the five Khandhas) arise such views as these: "All are stable or permanent; this is mine; this am I; this is the self of me; there is no fruit of good or evil deeds; this world is not, the world beyond is not, and the heretical views—the world is limited or unlimited, the identity or non-identity of the life and the body.[1] But the five Khandhas are impermanent and woeful. When an Aryan disciple fully knows this and also when for him doubt as to suffering is put away, doubt as to the arising of suffering, cessation of suffering, and the way leading to the cessation of suffering is put away—this is how an Aryan disciple is saved from disaster, and bound for enlightenment.

In the *Okkantika Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 225–228) the Exalted One says that such a person is called "walker in faith" who has faith and confidence in the doctrine that the eye, the ear, the nose,

[1] Cf. Majjhima Nikāya, I, pp. 157, 426.

the tongue, the body, and the mind are impermanent and changeable.

In the *Uppāda Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 228–231) the Buddha says that the arising of eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind, is the arising of suffering, diseases, decay, and death.

The *Kilesa Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 232–234) deals with the kilesas or sins. The desire that is in the eye and in material object in the ear and in the sounds, in the nose and in scents, in the tongue and in savours, in the body and in the tangibles, and in the mind and in things, is a corruption of the heart. The desire that is in eye-consciousness and in consciousness that comes by ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind, in eye-contact with the other sense-organs and mind, and in consciousness of visible shape, sound, scent, savour, tangibles, and things, is a corruption of the heart.

In the *Sāriputta Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 235–240) the venerable Sāriputta in reply to Ānanda's question says that his senses have been calmed because he has dwelt aloof from passions, with his thought applied and sustained in first jhāna, which is born of solitude and full of zest and happiness and that he has also given up the vain idea of 'I' and 'mine'.

In the *Nāga Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 240–246) the Lord says that there are the four sorts of birth as nāgas, viz. the egg-born, the womb-born, the sweat-born, and those born with parents.

In the *Supaṇṇa Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 246–249) the Buddha says that there are the four sorts of rebirth as harpies, viz. the egg-born, the womb-born, the sweat-born, and those born without parents.

In the *Gandhabbakāya Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 249–253) the Lord speaks to the bhikkhus about the devas belonging to the Gandhabba group. He says that they are those devas who dwell in the fragrance of root-wood, heart-wood, pith, bark sap and in that of leaves, flowers, and scents.

In the *Valāha Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *III*, *pp*. 254–257) the Exalted One speaks about devas that belong to cloud-groups (valāhaka-kāyika). He says that there are devas (embodied) in cool clouds, hot clouds, thunder clouds, wind clouds, and rain clouds.

In the *Vacchagotta Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *III*, *pp*. 257–263) the Buddha speaks to Vacchagotta, a wanderer, who holds the heretical views which have been condemned by the Lord in the Brahmajāla Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. I. Vacchagotta enquires of the Blessed One of the cause of the origin of these diverse opinions which arise in the world, e.g. the world is eternal or non-eternal, finite or infinite, the identity or the non-identity of the life and the body, etc. The Buddha says that it is through ignorance of the five khandhas (rūpa or form, vedanā or feeling, saññā or perception, saṁkhāra or confections, and viññāna or consciousness) that these diverse opinions arise in the world.

In the *Jhāna* (*or Samādhi*) *Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *III*, *pp*. 263–279) the Bhagavā says that there are these four who practise the jhānas or rapt musings or abstractions: one who practises meditation is skilled in concentration, but is not skilled in the attainment thereof; one who practises meditation is skilled in the attainment of concentration itself; one who practises meditation is neither skilled in concentration nor skilled in the attainment thereof; and one who practises meditation is skilled both in concentration and in the fruits thereof. Of the four, the last one is the best and most pre-eminent.

In the *Saḷāyatana Saṁyutta*[1] (*S.N.*, *IV*, *pp*. 1–204) the Blessed One speaks of the six senses. The Buddha says that the eye and the objects of sight, the ear and the sounds, the nose and the scents, the tongue and the savours, the body and the things tangible, the mind and the mind states, are

[1] The account of Puṇṇa in this Saṁyutta is found almost word for word in the Sanskrit version of Pūrṇa in the Divyāvadāna, pp. 24 foll.

all impermanent, ill, and void of the self. But there is the way of escape from these. This is the restraint of desire and lust, the renouncing of desire and lust which are in the eye, etc. Where there is no desire, there is no ill. He further says that by seeing the six senses as impermanent, as fetters, and as āsavas, ignorance is vanished and knowledge arises, fetters are abandoned and āsavas or sins are uprooted. He also explains 'the world' by saying what is transitory by nature is called the world. In this connection the Lord also characterises the eye and the objects of sight, the ear and the sounds, etc. as transitory. According to him passion is a disease and one can abide passionless by not imagining 'I have an eye', etc. One should not be enamoured of the object cognisable by the eye, etc. If one is so, then one is called restrained. If one is not so, then one is said to have lack of restraint.

The *Vedanā Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *IV*, *pp.* 204–238) deals with the three vedanās or feelings : feeling that is pleasant, feeling that is painful, and feeling that is neither pleasant nor painful. The lurking tendency, to lust for pleasant feeling, to repugnance for painful feeling, and to ignorance of feeling that is neither pleasant nor painful, must be abandoned. Pleasant feelings should be regarded as ill, painful feelings as a barb, and neutral feelings as impermanence. So all these should be abandoned. This abandonment in a bhikkhu is called 'rightly seeing'.

The *Mātugāma Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *IV*, *pp.* 238–251) deals with the womankind. A woman, if she is beauteous in form, possessed of wealth, moral, vigorous, and gets offspring, is altogether charming to a man. If she does not possess these five qualities she is without charm for a man. There are five special woes which a woman has to undergo as apart from a man. They are : a woman at a tender age goes to her husband's family and leaves her relatives behind, she is subject to pregnancy, she has to bring forth, and she has to wait upon a man.

Possessed of five things a woman is reborn in purgatory, if she is faithless, shameless, unscrupulous, wrathful, and of weak wisdom. A woman is also reborn in the heavenly world, if she is faithful, modest, scrupulous, not wrathful, rich in wisdom, not envious, not an adulteress, moral, and of wide knowledge.

In the *Jambukhādaka Saṁyutta*[1] (*S.N.*, *IV*, *pp.* 251–261) we find Sāriputta explaining to Jambukhādaka Paribbājaka some of the fundamental teachings of the Buddha. Nibbāna and arahatship have been described as the destruction of lust, of hatred, and illusion, and the path leading to the attainment of nibbāna and arahatship is the Noble Eightfold Path (right view, aim, speech, action, living effort, mindfulness, and concentration). They who have completely given up lust, hatred, and illusion, are well-practised and happy ones in the world. It is for the comprehension of ill that the righteous life is lived under Gotama the recluse. There are three kinds of feelings (pleasant, painful, and neutral) and three kinds of āsavas (sensuality, becoming, and ignorance). The Aryan Eightfold Path is the only way to the comprehension of these feelings and to the abandonment of these āsavas.

In the *Sāmaṇḍaka Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *IV*, *pp.* 261-262) the venerable Sāriputta explains to Sāmaṇḍaka, the wanderer, the term 'nibbāna'. Sāriputta says that nibbāna is the destruction of lust, hatred, and illusion, and that nibbāna can be attained by following the Noble Eightfold Path.

In the *Moggallāna Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *IV*, *pp.* 262–281) the venerable Moggallāna explains to the bhikkhus who have assembled the four jhānas or rapt musings. He also explains to them 'the realm of infinite space', 'the realm of infinite

[1] Read 'Buddhist Nirvāṇa and the Noble Eightfold Path' by O. Frankfurter, J.R.A.S., New Series, Vol. XII, 1880. This paper is also devoted to the study of the contents of the Jambukhādaka Saṁyutta, Sāmaṇḍaka Saṁyutta, and Asaṅkhata Saṁyutta.

consciousness', 'the realm of nothingness', 'the realm of neither perceiving nor non-perceiving' and the unconditioned heart's rapture (animitta ceto-samādhi).

In the *Citta Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *IV*, *pp.* 281–304) the house-father explains to the bhikkhus that the fetter and the things that tend to fetter are different both in spirit and in letter. The eye is not a fetter of objects, nor objects a fetter to the eye. But the desire and lust that arise owing to the pair of them constitute the fetter. The same applies to ear and sound, nose and scents, tongue and savours, and mind and mind states.

In the *Gāmaṇi Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *IV*, *pp.* 305–359) the Blessed One explains why one is called 'wrathful' and one is styled 'kindly'. In the first case a certain man's passion is not abandoned owing to the fact that others harass him. Harassed by others he shows vexation. Thus he is styled 'wrathful'. In the second case a certain man's passion is abandoned, owing to that others do not harass him. Unharassed by others he shows no vexation. Thus he is styled 'kindly'. The Blessed One also exhorts the headman of the village to follow the middle path by giving up the two extremes —devotion to the pleasures of senses and devotion to self-mortification.

In the *Asaṅkhata Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *IV*, *pp.* 359–373) the Blessed One says about the uncreated (nibbānam) and the path leading to it. He interprets it by saying that nibbāna is the destruction of lust, hatred, and delusion. According to him, mindfulness, calm and insight, the four best efforts (satipaṭṭhāna), the four bases of effective power (iddhipādā), and the Noble Eightfold Path are the means to the attainment of nibbāna.[1]

In the *Avyākata Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *IV*, *pp.* 374–403) we find that once King Pasenadi asks Khemā the following questions :—Does the Tathāgata exist

[1] Vide Yamakami's systems of Buddhistic thought, pp. 28–42; J.P.T.S., 1904/5; F. O. Schrader on the problem of Nirvāṇa.

after death? Does the Tathāgata both exist and not exist after death? Khemā in reply to these questions says that the Blessed One has not revealed these points to them. She further says that it is impossible to define the Tathāgata for he is as boundless and unfathomable as the mighty ocean. So these questions do not apply. Anuruddha, Sāriputta, and Moggallāna answer in the same way the question put to them regarding the Tathāgata.[1]

The *Magga Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *V*, *pp.* 1–62) deals with the Noble Eightfold Path, e.g. sammādiṭṭhi (right view), sammāsaṅkappo (right aim), sammāvācā (right speech), sammākammanto (right action), sammā ājīva (right living), sammāvāyāma (right exertion), sammāsati (right mindfulness), and sammāsamādhi (right concentration).

The *Bojjhaṅga Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *V*, *pp.* 63–140) deals with the sattabojjhaṅgas or the seven elements of supreme knowledge, e.g. sati (mindfulness), dhammavicaya (investigation of the Norm), viriya (energy), pīti (tranquillity), passadhi (concentration), samādhi (equanimity), and upekkhā (indifference).

The *Satipaṭṭhāna Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *V*, *pp.* 141–192) deals with the four satipaṭṭhānas, the four stations of mindfulness as regards body, feelings, mind, and mind states—kāye kāyānupassī, vedanāsu vedanānupassī, citte cittānupassī, dhammesu dhammānupassī.

The *Indriya Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *V*, *pp.* 193–243) deals with the five indriyas, e.g. saddhā (faith), viriya (energy), sati (mindfulness), samādhi (equanimity), and paññā (wisdom).

The *Sammappadhāna Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *V*, *pp.* 244–248) deals with the four sammappadhānas or perfect exertions, e.g., to check the growth of sins which have not arisen, to put an end to sins which have arisen, to help the growth of merit which has not arisen, and to help the growth of merit which has arisen.

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[1] Why is the Buddha called the Tathāgata, see Papañcasūdanī, I, pp. 45 foll.

The *Bala Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *V*, *pp.* 249 *foll.*) deals with the five balas or powers, e.g. saddhā (faith), viriya (energy), sati (mindfulness), samādhi (equanimity), and paññā (wisdom).

The *Iddhipāda Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *V*, *pp.* 254–293) deals with the four iddhis[1] or wonderful powers, e.g., chanda (desire), viriya (energy), citta (thought), and vīmaṁsā (investigation).

The *Anuruddha Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *V*, *pp.* 294–306) relates to the attainment of great supernatural power by the venerable Anuruddha by being self-possessed and mindful with regard to body, feelings, mind, and mind states.

The *Jhāna Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *V*, *pp.* 307–310) deals with the four jhānas, the first trance—the second—the third, and the fourth.

In the *Ānāpāna Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *V*, *pp.* 311–341) the Blessed One says that concentration on in-breathing and out-breathing if cultivated, leads to great profit.

In the *Sotāpatti Saṁyutta*[2] (*S.N.*, *V*, *pp.* 342–413) the Lord says that the Ariyan disciple is possessed of unwavering loyalty to the Buddha, the Norm and the Order, that is, to the Buddhist Triad, and is blessed with the virtues dear to the Aryans (virtues untainted by carving or delusion), therefore he lives on gathered scraps though he be clothed in rags and is released from purgatory and rebirths.

The *Sacca Saṁyutta* (*S.N.*, *V*, *pp.* 414–478) deals with the four Aryan truths: suffering, its origin, its destruction, and the path leading to its destruction.

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[1] Superwill-morewill. For to use *iddhi* is a very high mandate within the power of very few (Gotama the man, p. 221).

[2] Cf. Saṁyutta Nikāya, V, 384—

> "Yassa saddhā Tathāgate || acalā supatiṭṭhitā ||
> sīlañca yassa kalyāṇaṁ || ariyakantam pasaṁsitaṁ ||
> saṅghe pasādo yassatthi || ujubhūtañ ca dassanaṁ ||
> Adaliddo ti tam āhu || amoghaṁ tassa jīvitaṁ ||
> Tasmā saddhaṁ ca sīlañca || pasādaṁ dhammadassanaṁ
> anuyuñjetha medhāvī || saram buddhānasāsanan ti."

The verses also occur in the Saṁyutta Nikāya, I, 232, and the Aṅguttara Nikāya, II, 57 and III, 54.

D. The Aṅguttara Nikāya

The Ekuttara or Aṅguttara Nikāya[1] is the fourth book of the Sutta Piṭaka. It is a collection characterised by numerical groupings of dhammas arranged serially in an ascending order. The P.T.S., London, has edited this book in Roman character in five volumes with an Index volume. The Sinhalese[2] and Burmese editions of this work are available. This book consists of the following nipātas :—

1.	Eka	Nipāta	consisting of	21	chapters,	A.N.,	I. 1–46.
2.	Duka	,,	,,	,, 16	,,	,,	I. 47–100.
3.	Tika	,,	,,	,, 16	,,	,,	I. 101–304.
4.	Catukka	,,	,,	,, 26	,,	,,	II. 1–257.
5.	Pañcaka	,,	,,	,, 26	,,	,,	III. 1–278.
6.	Chakka	,,	,,	,, 12	,,	,,	III. 279–452.
7.	Sattaka	,,	,,	,, 9	,,	,,	IV. 1–149.
8.	Aṭṭhaka	,,	,,	,, 9	,,	,,	IV. 150–350.
9.	Navaka	,,	,,	,, 9	,,	,,	IV. 351–466.
10.	Dasaka	,,	,,	,, 22	,,	,,	V. 1–310.
11.	Ekādasaka		,,	,, 3	,,	,,	V. 311–361.

The *Eka Nipāta* (*A.N., I, pp.* 1–46) deals with the nīvaraṇas (obstacles), the mind concentrated or unconcentrated, the mind trained or untrained, the mind cultivated or uncultivated, exertion, diligence, and the Tathāgata—the only person who does good to mankind. It further deals with the foremost disciples of the Buddha—Sāriputta, Moggallāna, Mahākassapa, and other eminent bhikkhus, the wrong view and the right view, wrong concentration and right concentration.

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[1] P.T.S., editions—pts. I and II by Rev. Richard Morris, LL.D., pts. III–V by Prof. Dr. E. Hardy, Ph.D., D.D.; pt. VI (Indexes) by Mabel Hunt revised and edited by C. A. F. Rhys Davids. The P.T.S. has brought out an English translation of this work known as the *Book of the Gradual Sayings*, some portions of this nikāya have been translated into English by A. D. Jayasundera and edited by F. L. Woodward known as, the *Book of the Numerical Sayings*, an English translation of the first three nipātas has been published by E. R. J. Gooneratne.

A German translation of this Nikāya known as *Die Reden des Buddha* by Nyanatiloka has been published.

[2] The Sinhalese edition by Devamitta, Colombo, 1893, is worth mentioning.

The *Duka Nipāta* (*A.N., I, pp.* 47–100) deals with the two kinds of sins which should be avoided—sins which bear evil fruits even in this birth and sins which lead one to rebirth in hell, two kinds of balas or powers—the power of seeing with close observation the evil effects of sinful acts through body, speech, and mind and the power of cultivation of the seven elements of knowledge (satta sambojjhaṅgas), the causes of the origin of the good and evil, different kinds of hopes or desires—desire for gain and longevity, two kinds of gifts—gift of material objects and gift of dhamma, different kinds of assemblies of the bhikkhus (assemblies of the bhikkhus who have not fully realised the four Noble Truths and the bhikkhus who have done so, of the bhikkhus who live in concord and harmony and the bhikkhus who do not).

In the *Tika Nipāta* (*A.N., I, pp.* 101–304) the Blessed One says that they are fools who commit sinful acts through body, speech, and mind and they are the wise who do not do so. He praises gifts, renunciation of the worldly life, and supporting one's own parents. He recommends exertion for checking the growth of the evils which have not arisen, for developing the dhammas which have not arisen, and for removing the evils which have already arisen. He refutes some heretical views and gives a clear exposition of the fundamental teachings of the dhamma propounded by him. He says that there are some samaṇas and brāhmaṇas who hold that the pleasant or painful and neither pleasant nor painful experiences are due to previous action, others who hold that these are providential, others again who hold that these are due to no cause whatsoever. The Blessed One condemns these heretical views and gives a clear exposition of the chain of causation and the Four Āryan Truths. He also speaks of the duties of a samaṇa. He then speaks on the subject of maṅgala or well-being. According to him he who commits sinful acts through body, speech, and mind is thrown into purgatory. But he

who is restrained in his body, speech, and mind and does meritorious acts through these goes to heaven and enjoys heavenly joys there.

In the *Catukka Nipāta* (*A.N.*, *II*, *pp.* 1–257) the Buddha says, "He who is not possessed of four things (holy conduct, holy concentration, holy insight, and holy emancipation) is said to be fallen away from this Norm and Discipline (Dhamma-Vinaya). An ignorant man who praises one who does not deserve praise, blames one who is worthy of praise, rejoices wherein one should not rejoice, and does not rejoice wherein one should rejoice, stores up much demerit. A wise man who does the right thing in these respects stores much merit." There are to be seen existing in the world four beings :—

(*a*) he that is ill-versed and leads not a virtuous life,
(*b*) he that is ill-versed but leads a virtuous life,
(*c*) he that is well-versed but leads not a virtuous life, and
(*d*) he that is well-versed and also leads a virtuous life.

The Blessed One also speaks of sloth and energy as evils and recommends exertions. He deals with the subject of wrong behaviour and right behaviour. The Lord says that there are four trifling things which are easily procurable and also faultless. They are paṁsukula-cīvara, piṇḍiyālopa-bhojanam, rukkhamūla-senāsana, and pūtimutta-bhesajja.[1] He speaks of the four ancient, agelong, and traditional noble lineages and says that a bhikkhu should rest content with whatsoever robe, alms, dwelling place, and medicine he gets. He deals with the four kinds of blessings (e.g. paṭi-rūpadesavāso, dwelling in a suitable region;

[1] Clothes made of rags taken from a dust heap, eating a morsel of food, dwelling at the foot of a tree, strong-smelling urine (usually urine of cattle) used as medicine.

sappurisūpassayo, 'taking refuge in good men'; attasammāpaṇidhi, right realisation of self; and pubbe ca katapuññatā, good deeds done in former existences), the four kinds of kindly feelings, the four qualities which make one a great personage, the four qualities which guard a bhikkhu against his falling away and qualify him to be close to nirvāṇa. Such a bhikkhu should observe the sīlas, control the portals of senses, be moderate in eating, and be ever watchful in the day time and at night in its three yāmas (watches)—paṭhama, majjhima, and pacchima. The Lord deals with the question as to who is a real bhikkhu. He speaks highly of oblations which are performed without cruelty. He speaks of the four ways of self-concentration,[1] of the four persons existing in the world who foster hatred, hypocrisy, gains, honours and not the Norm, of the four hallucinations,[2] and of the four faults of recluses and brahmins.[3] He deals with the four yields in merit[4] and virtue which bring about happiness, the four yields in merit which bring about heavenly bliss, and the four ways of living together.[5] He says that the Ariyan disciple who offers food gives to the recipient four things; long life, personal beauty, happiness, and physical

[1] They are as follows:—diṭṭhadhammasukhavihārāya (for happy condition in this world), ñāṇadassanapaṭilābhāya (for knowledge and insight), satisampajaññāya (for mindfulness and self-possession), and āsavānam khayāya (for the destruction of sins).

[2] (*a*) taking what is anicca as nicca, (*b*) taking what is adukkha as dukkha, (*c*) taking what is anatta as atta, and (*d*) taking what is asubha as subha.

[3] (*a*) bhikkhus drinking fermented liquor, (*b*) bhikkhus addicted to sensual pleasures, (*c*) bhikkhus accepting gold and silver, and (*d*) bhikkhus earning their livelihood by falsehood.

[4] (*a*) rightly believing that the Buddha is all-knowing, etc., (*b*) rightly believing that the Dhamma has been well-propounded by the Buddha, (*c*) rightly believing that the Saṅgha founded by the Buddha is well-established, and (*d*) the ariyasāvaka (disciple of the Noble) is free from all impurities, etc.

[5] (*a*) the vile living with the vile, (*b*) the vile living with the good (goddess), (*c*) the good (god) living with the vile, and (*d*) the good (god) living with the good (goddess).

strength. He speaks of the duty of a layman, of blessings and happiness, gratitude to parents, the lures to hell, the four kinds of sinful persons, the four kinds of snakes to whom thoughts of loving-kindness should be sent forth, the fall of Devadatta, the four exertions, and of righteousness and unrighteousness. The Buddha says that a brother who is virtuous, well-versed, strenuous, and possessed of insight, follows the perfect way of conduct and his knowledge is directed to destroying the intoxicants. A brother who is endowed with thoughts of renunciation, of benevolence, of love, and of right views follows the perfect way and his knowledge is directed to destroying the intoxicants. The Lord also speaks of the qualities by which a wicked man is to be known, of the qualities by which a good man is to be known, of the four excellences, of the highest things, of the question of removal of doubts, of the four unthinkables which should not be pondered over, and of the four purities of gift. He speaks of heaven and hell, of persons in darkness and light, of persons of low state and high state, of titans and gods, of peace and insight, and of the persons who are praiseworthy and blameworthy. He speaks of the four kinds of clouds, the four kinds of jars, the four kinds of pools of water, the four kinds of mangoes, the four kinds of mice, the four kinds of oxen, the four kinds of trees, and the four kinds of snakes. The Buddha points out how he trains men. He speaks of four things : a thing which is unpleasant to be done, and when done, it results in loss ; a thing which is unpleasant to be done but when done, it results in gain ; a thing which is pleasant to be done, but when done, it results in loss ; a thing which is pleasant to be done and when done, it results in gain. He speaks of earnestness and mindfulness, of the four holy places which should be visited by the faithful clansman—the place of the Buddha's birth, the place of his enlightenment, the place of his setting rolling the supreme wheel of righteousness, and the place of

his Mahāparinibbāna. The Buddha speaks of the fetters, of understanding, of sinful and sinless men, of morality, concentration, and insight. He speaks of men subdued or unsubdued in mind, in body, and in mind and body together. There are four lustres of moon, sun, fire, and wisdom. Of these the lustre of wisdom is the most excellent. There are four radiances of which the radiance of wisdom is the most excellent. There are four lights, of which the light of wisdom is the most excellent. There are four effulgences, of which the effulgence of wisdom is the most excellent. There are four lamps, of which the lamp of wisdom is the most excellent. There are four kinds of misconduct by word, viz. musāvādā (falsehood), pisuṇāvācā (backbiting), pharusavācā (harsh speech), and samphappallāpa (frivolous talk). There are four kinds of good conduct by word, viz. saccavācā (truthful words), apisuṇāvācā (no backbiting), saṇhāvācā (gentle speech), and mantāvācā (thoughtful speech). There are four essences, viz. sīla (conduct), samādhi (meditation), paññā (wisdom), and vimutti (emancipation). There are four faculties and four powers, viz. saddhā (faith), viriya (energy), sati (recollection), and samādhi (meditation). The Lord speaks of the four things which lead to the decay and disappearance of the Norm [1] and of the four things which lead to the preservation of the Norm. The Lord says that the monks should aspire to become like unto Sāriputta and Moggallāna. He speaks of the elements and of the annihilation of personality. Just as a warrior possessed of four qualities becomes worthy of the king, so a brother possessed of four qualities becomes worthy of offerings. The Exalted One speaks of conduct, integrity, firmness, and wisdom. The Exalted One replies to the charge

[1] Causes of the disappearance of the Norm are the following :—(*a*) if the bhikkhus learn the suttantas which are not well taught, (*b*) if the bhikkhus are wrong in speech, (*c*) if the learned bhikkhus do not proclaim the suttantas rightly, and (*d*) if the learned bhikkhus are not serious about nibbāna—the opposites of these causes lead to the preservation of the Norm.

that he is a charmer and knows a trick of glamour, whereby he entices the followers of other sects. He also speaks of the āsavas or sins and says that it is not possible to cross the flood by self-mortifying austerities. The Lord explains to the bhikkhus about the wicked man and the good man and speaks of the sinful and the virtuous, the man of evil nature and the man of good nature. The Buddha says that there are four kinds of misconduct and four kinds of good conduct by word. The Blessed One says that from relying on a good man, four blessings should be expected as regards sīla (conduct), samādhi (meditation), paññā (wisdom), and vimutti (emancipation). The Exalted One says that a bhikkhu who does not observe the sīlas, who entertains wrong views, who lives on lying, and who hankers after glory and fame, rejoices in the breaking of an order and that the holy life is lived for higher wisdom, for the sake of realisation of emancipation and for the mastery of mindfulness. The Buddha says that there are four persons worthy of monuments, Tathāgata,[1] Paccekabuddha,[2] Tathāgatasāvaka[3], and Rājacakkavattī.[4] He speaks of the four balas or potentialities: energy, mindfulness, concentration, and wisdom and says that the bhikkhu who is given to lust, malice, and envy and who is a fool and has no common sense at all, should not take to forest life. According to him, he who kills living beings, incites others to kill, is expert in killing, and praises the killing of lives, is sure to go to hell and suffer there.

The *Pañcaka Nipāta* (*A.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 1–278) deals with the five sekhabalas or the strength of the learner or disciple (saddhā or faith, hiri or

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[1] An epithet of the Buddha, lit., meaning one who has trodden the right path.

[2] Individual Buddha, one enlightened by oneself, i.e. one who has attained to the supreme and perfect insight but dies without proclaiming the truth to the world.

[3] A disciple of the Tathāgata.

[4] Universal monarch. Read a paper on *Cakkavattī* by T. W. Rhys Davids (R. G. Bhandarkar commemoration vol., pp. 125–131).

bashfulness, ottappo or shrinking back from committing sin, viriya or energy and paññā or wisdom), the five balas of the Tathāgata (saddhā, viriya, hiri, ottappo, and paññā), the five upakkilesas or sins of the body (ayo or iron, loham or copper, tipu or tin, sīsaṁ or lead, and sajjhaṁ or silver), the five nīvaraṇas or obstacles (kāmacchando or desire for sensual pleasures, vyāpādo or ill-will, thīnamiddhaṁ or sloth and torpor, uddhaccakakkuccaṁ or haughtiness and restlessness, and vicikicchā or doubt), and the five objects of meditation (asubha or disagreeable, anatta or without individuality, maraṇa or death, āhāre paṭikkula or disagreeableness in food, and sabbaloke anabhirati or not finding delight in the whole world). This nipāta also points out that a bhikkhu endowed with five evil qualities, viz., avītarāga or not free from passion, avītadosa or not free from hatred, avītamoha or not free from delusion, makkho or hypocrisy, and palāsa or malice, is not dear to his fellow monks; but when endowed with five good qualities, he is dear to his fellow monks. It also deals with the five phāsuvihāras, viz., mettam (friendliness), kāyakammaṁ (action by body), vacikammaṁ (action by speech), manokammaṁ (action by thought), observance of the sīlas, and holding right views which lead to the extinction of suffering. The idea of āghāta or harm should be replaced by mettā feeling. It deals with the degradation of the brāhmaṇas, the evils which befall a bhikkhu who becomes angry, and the evils of wrong behaviour.

In the *Chakka Nipāta* (*A.N.*, *III*, *pp.* 279–452) the Blessed One says that a bhikkhu endowed with six qualities becomes worthy of veneration and worship. Such a bhikkhu should be indifferent to the objects of sight, sound, savoury, taste, tangible things, and phenomena. There are six dhammas which should be remembered by a bhikkhu. As regards his body, speech, and mind he should cultivate the mettā feeling. He should also observe the sīlas and hold right views which lead one to the

destruction of suffering. The Exalted One speaks of the six dhammas which are essential for a bhikkhu to cultivate. They are as follows :—na kammārāmatā (no delight in deeds), na bhassārāmatā (no delight in disputations), na niddārāmatā (no delight in sleep), na sanganikārāmatā (no delight in company), sovacassatā (gentleness), and kalyāṇamittatā (association with the virtuous). According to the Buddha the highest of sight is the sight of the Tathāgata, the highest of hearing is the hearing of the preaching of doctrines by the Tathāgata, the highest of gain is gaining faith in the Tathāgata, the highest of learning is learning the doctrine preached by the Tathāgata, the highest of service is serving the Tathāgata and his disciples, and the highest of anussati (recollection) is the anussati (recollection) of the Tathāgata and his disciples.

The *Sattaka Nipāta* (*A.N., IV, pp.* 1–149) deals with the seven dhanas or riches (e.g., saddhā or faith, sīla or conduct, hiri or bashfulness, ottappa or shrinking from committing sins, suta or learning, cāga or sacrifice, and paññā or wisdom, and the seven saṁyojanas or bonds : anunaya or friendliness, paṭigha or repugnance, diṭṭhi or false belief, vicikicchā or doubt, māna or pride, bhava or existence, and avijjā or ignorance). The Exalted One condemns the sacrifices in which slaughter of living creatures occurs. He says that a true and noble disciple does not trouble himself with the thought whether the Tathāgata exists or does not exist after death. He further says how a bhikkhu becomes an upholder of the Vinaya (Vinayadharo).

The *Aṭṭha Nipāta* (*A.N., IV, pp.* 150–350) deals with the teachings of the Buddha elaborately, the various kinds of alms-giving, the uposatha ceremony, the eight causes of earthquake and mindfulness.

The *Navaka Nipāta* (*A.N., IV, pp.* 351–466) deals with the nine kinds of persons : arahā (saint), arahattāyapaṭipanno (one who has reached the stage of an arahat), anāgāmī (one who has reached the third stage of sanctification), anāgāmiphal-

asacchikiriyāyapaṭipanno (one who has attained the fruition of the third stage of sanctification), sakadāgāmī (one who has reached the second stage of sanctification), sotāpanno (one who has reached the first stage of sanctification), sotāpattiphalasacchikiriyāya-paṭipanno (one who has attained the fruition of the first stage of sanctification), puthujjano (ordinary man), and nine kinds of saññās or objects of thought: asubha (impurity), maraṇa (death), āhāre paṭikkula (disagreeableness in food), sabbaloke anabhirati (not finding delight in the whole world), anicca (impermanence), anicce dukkha (suffering in impermanence), dukkhe anatta (not a self in suffering), pahāna (abandonment), and virāga (absence of passion). It further says that one can attain arahatship by putting away rāga (passion), dosa (hatred), moha (delusion), kodha (anger), upanāha (enmity), makkha (ill feeling), and palāsa (spite). It also mentions the five constituent elements:—rāga (passion), vedanā (sensation), saññā (perception), saṅkhāra (constituent elements), and viññāna (consciousness) and the five destinies of beings:—niraya (hell), tiracchānayoni (region of animals), pettivisayo (realm of the departed spirits), manussā (human beings), and devā (gods).

In the *Dasaka Nipāta* (*A.N.*, *V*, *pp.* 1–310) we are told of the attainments of the Buddha. We find Upāli asking questions on doctrinal points and the Buddha giving the replies. The Blessed One explains what is meant by the term 'saṅghabheda'. He says that when the bhikkhus preach dhamma as adhamma and vice versa, vinaya as avinaya and vice versa and attribute to the Tathāgata that which has not been spoken by him, preached by him, practised by him, and laid down by him, then saṅghabheda occurs. There is mention of the ten saññās, the cultivation of which leads to great advantages. The dasa saññās are:—anicca (impermanence), anatta (non-self), maraṇa (death), āhāre paṭikkula (disagreeableness in food), sabbaloke anabhirati (dissatisfaction towards the whole world),

aṭṭhika (bone), puḷavaka (one of the asubha kammaṭṭhānas which is called puḷavaka, i.e. the contemplation of the worm-infested corpse), vinīlaka (one of the asubha kammaṭṭhānas obtained by the contemplation of a corpse black with decay), vicchidaka (one of the asubha kammaṭṭhānas obtained by the contemplation of a corpse fissured from decay), and uddhumātaka (idea of a bloated corpse). There is also mention of the seven elements of knowledge, viz.:—sati (recollection), dhammavicaya (investigation of doctrine), viriya (energy), pīti (delight), passaddhi (calmness), samādhi (meditation), and upekkhā (indifference). The seven bojjhaṅgas make one to attain the three kinds of knowledge—knowledge of previous existence, knowledge of the passing of beings from one existence to another, and knowledge of the extinction of the āsavas (sins).

The ten parisuddhis (purifications) are also enumerated here. They are sammādiṭṭhi (right view), sammāsaṅkappo (right determination), sammāvācā (right speech), sammākammanto (right action), sammā ājīvo (right living), sammāvāyāmo (right exertion), sammāsati (right recollection), sammāsamādhi (right meditation), sammāñānaṁ (right knowledge), and sammāvimutti (right emancipation). The Blessed One explains to the bhikkhus what is sādhu and what is asādhu, what is ariyamagga and what is anariyamagga. A person possessed of the bad qualities should not be served whereas a person possessed of the good qualities should be served. The former is reborn into hell and the latter goes to heaven.

In the *Ekādasaka Nipāta* (*A.N., V, pp.* 311–361) we are told of the qualities which are essentially necessary for the attainment of Nibbāna and which will help one to become the highest and best among gods and men. It is stated that through Vijjā and Caraṇa[1] one can attain Nibbāna. This nipāta

[1] In the Ambaṭṭha Sutta we read: Vijjācaraṇa-sampanno so seṭṭho deva-mānuse. The terms vijjā and caraṇa are explained in this sutta (pp. 99-100).

also deals with the eleven blessings which are to be expected from the exercise of benevolence, with the eleven gates leading to Nibbāna, by each of which one may save oneself. One should also develop eleven conditions for acquiring the knowledge of human passion.

Importance of the Aṅguttara Nikāya.

As regards the importance of the Aṅguttara Nikāya, we may point out that it applies on a comprehensive scale to the numerical scheme of mnemonics as enunciated in the Kumāra Pañha, the 'Novice's Questions.' The same scheme has been followed also in the Saṅgīti and Dasuttara Suttantas of the Dīgha Nikāya, as well as in the Thera and the Therīgāthās. The art has been tried, though not very systematically, in the Atharvavedasaṁhitā. Thus at the first sight this nikāya is far from presenting a connected exposition of the doctrine. But on a closer examination it may be found that it works out a definite scheme of its own, all the suttas grouped in the successive numerical sections have bearings on a twofold Vinaya, namely, the Bhikkhuvinaya and the Gahapativinaya. Although the groupings or enumerations of doctrines or principles are in many instances similar to those in the Saṁyutta Nikāya, the distinction of the Aṅguttara lies in the fact that its bearing is, on the whole, practical, we mean on the aspect of discipline and the time may come when it will be satisfactorily proved that the origin of the materials of the Vinaya Suttavibhaṅga were derived mainly from this nikāya. Its importance lies also in the fact that the contents of the Puggalapaññatti which is one of the earliest of the Abhidhamma books are nothing but excerpts from it.

Comparing the individual passages it becomes increasingly clear that the lengthy discourses in the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas have been broken up in the Aṅguttara, and the points dealt with in them have been emphasised separately in smaller groupings. Thus it may be shown that the purpose

of this nikāya is to sufficiently emphasise certain doctrinal points by repeatedly dinning them into the ears of the hearers.

But we are not to suppose that the Aṅguttara has not an originality of its own as regards its contents. There are indeed many suttas or passages which are peculiarly its own and these passages shed much lustre on the development of Buddhism and its history.[1]

Attention may be drawn, for instance, to the Etadaggavagga in the Ekanipāta. It furnishes us with a list of prominent Buddhist personalities among the bhikkhus, the bhikkhuṇīs, the upāsakas, and upāsikās who are declared by the Buddha to be the foremost in ranks in certain attainments or qualities. For instance, the Thera Mahākaccāna was declared to be the foremost amongst those immediate disciples of the Buddha who had the capacity to set forth in detail the meaning of a truth briefly enunciated by the Master ; the Thera Vaṅgīsa amongst those who excelled in the art of improvisation. All this goes to prove that the Buddhist Order as organised by the Buddha left sufficient scope for the development of individualism and initiative. The Appamattakavagga in the same nipāta is highly significant as emphasising the need of philanthropic works and having as such a direct bearing on Asoka's Dhamma.

In the Dukanipāta we may draw attention to the Kammakaraṇavagga throwing a flood of light on the brutal methods of punishment and criminal justice, the rigour of which was sought to be modified by King Asoka.

In the same nipāta we have a Vinaya tract, Atthavasavagga, which may even be identified with the passage, 'Vinaya-samukase', recommended by Asoka in his Bhābrū Edict. Its interest centres round a scheme which it lays down, presenting a plan for the whole of the Vinaya Piṭaka. Attention

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[1] e.g., Aṅguttara Nikāya, I, pp. 11, 33, 55, etc.

may be drawn to the Parisāvagga in the Dukanipāta, the tract on Ariyavaṁsā in the Catukkanipāta and the tract on Anāgatabhayāni, future dangers of the faith, as well as the Rājavagga in the Pañcakanipāta, all of which has a close bearing on the edicts and teachings of Asoka.

Sanity and perspecuity characterise the style of this Nikāya. In a purely prosaic and mechanical scheme there are to be seen matters that bristle with interest. The variety of contents assigns a very important place to this Nikāya in regard to the subsequent development of Buddhist texts belonging to all the three piṭakas.

E. The Khuddaka Nikāya

The Khuddaka Nikāya is the fifth and the last division of the Sutta Piṭaka. Strictly speaking it is composed of sixteen independent treatises which are enumerated by Buddhaghosa as fifteen. Its contents are of different times. Some of its parts belong to the earliest period while others to the latest stratum of the Pāli Canon. It is composed for the most part in verse, and contains all the most important works of Buddhist poetry. The sixteen books are as follows :—

(1) Khuddakapāṭha, (2) Dhammapada, (3) Udāna, (4) Itivuttaka, (5) Sutta Nipāta, (6) Vimānavatthu, (7) Petavatthu, (8) Theragāthā, (9) Therīgāthā, (10) Jātakas, (11 and 12) Mahāniddesa and Cullaniddesa (counted as one treatise by Buddhaghosa), (13) Paṭisambhidāmagga, (14) Apadāna, (15) Buddhavaṁsa, and (16) Cariyāpiṭaka.

According to the Burmese tradition, there are four other works besides the above-mentioned texts, namely, the Milindapañha, the Suttasaṁgaha, the Peṭakopadesa, and the Netti or Nettipakaraṇa.

Khuddakapāṭha.—The Khuddakapāṭha or " short lessons " is the first book. It is also known as " Lesser readings ". Mrs. Rhys Davids calls it the text of the minor sayings. It is a selection made

out of an original collection of the canon. It possesses a high authority in Ceylon. It takes its name from its first four texts which are very brief and are termed pāṭhas. The first four pāṭhas and the Maṅgala, Ratana, and Metta Suttas are translated by Gogerly in his version of Pirit in the *Ceylon Friend* (June, July, and August, 1839). Besides there are two suttas, Tirokuḍḍasutta and Nidhikaṇḍasutta.

The Khuddakapāṭha consists of nine texts. According to the commentary, the book derives its name from the first four passages which are shorter in comparison with the remaining five passages or suttas. The first is the Buddhist creed; the second gives the ten commandments prescribed for the novices; and the ninth is the Karaṇīyamettasutta in which kindness towards all creatures is esteemed as the true Buddhist cult. The work is a booklet of only a few pages, starting with the so-called Buddhist creed:

"I take my refuge in the Buddha (Buddhaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāmi).
I take refuge in the Dhamma (religion) (Dhammaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāmi).
I take refuge in the Saṁgha (Order) (Saṁghaṁ saraṇam gacchāmi)." [1]

Then the following other topics are discussed in the Khuddakapāṭha:—

(A) The ten precepts,[2] e.g.

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[1] This is known as the refuge formula, better known as Saraṇattayaṁ or Tīsaraṇam. From the Mahāvagga it appears that the two merchants, Tapussa and Bhallika, were the first in the world to become lay disciples (of the Buddha) by the formula which contained (only) the dyad. Because there was no Saṁgha at that time, their declaration of taking refuge, by which they became upāsakas, could refer only to the dyad (the Buddha and the Dhamma), instead of the triad of the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṁgha. Yasa, the son of a seṭṭhi of Benares, was the first person in the world who became a lay disciple by the formula of the holy triad (cf. Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIII, p. 106).

[2] The first five commandments are meant for the laymen and all the ten commandments are meant for the monks. Mrs. Rhys Davids translates it as "the tenfold course".

(i) Avoidance of life-slaughter,
(ii) Avoidance of theft,
(iii) Avoidance of leading irreligious life,
(iv) Avoidance of falsehood,
(v) Avoidance of drinking spirituous liquor,
(vi) Avoidance of dancing, singing, and music,
(vii) Avoidance of using garlands, scents, ointments and avoidance of ornamentations,
(viii) Avoidance of using luxurious and magnificent household furniture,
(ix) Avoidance of using gold and silver,
(x) Avoidance of taking food at improper time.

(B) The 32 parts of the body, e.g. hairs of the head, nails, teeth, heart, liver, skin, flesh, spleen, abdomen, bile, phlegm, lungs, mucus, pus, blood, kidney, marrow, etc. (cf. Visuddhimagga, I, pp. 249–265, Sammohavinodanī, Sinhalese Ed., pp. 49–63).[1]

(C) Novice's questions or as Mrs. Rhys Davids puts it " questions for young gentlemen "—

What is meant by one ?—all beings live on food.
What are meant by two ?—name and form.
What are meant by three ?—the three sensations.
What are meant by four ?—the four truths.
What are meant by five ?—the five constituent elements of beings.
What are meant by six ?—the six sense-organs.
What are meant by seven ?—seven supernatural knowledges.
What are meant by eight ?—the noble eightfold path.

[1] The thirty-one parts of the body excepting Matthake Matthaluṅgaṁ are also mentioned in the Mahā-satipaṭṭhāna Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. II, p. 293, and in the Satipaṭṭhānasuttaṁ of the Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 57. Mrs. Rhys Davids translates " Dvattiṁsākāraṁ " as *the thirty-twofold formation* (*vide* the Minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon, Pt. I, S.B.B., 1931).

What are meant by nine ?—the nine abodes of human beings.
What are meant by ten ?—the ten attributes which go to make a being a saint.

There are five suttas in the Khuddakapāṭha, a brief summary of which is given below.

Maṅgala Sutta (*Khuddakapāṭha, P.T.S., pp.* 2-3).—This sutta[1] is like the Svastyayana gāthā. The chief blessings are the following :—

Not to serve the unwise but to attend to the learned and to offer offerings to those worthy of homage, to live in a suitable place, to have done meritorious deeds in past existences and right self-application, to serve parents, to provide for wife and children and to follow a peaceful vocation, to give alms, to lead a religious life, to help relatives and to do good deeds, to abstain from sin, to refrain from the use of intoxicants and to preserve in virtue, reverence, humility, contentment, and gratitude and to attend to religious sermons at proper time, to be patient and gentle in speech, to visit the order of monks, to hold religious discourse at proper season, asceticism and celibacy, discernment of the four noble truths and realisation of Nibbāṇa, to have a mind unshaken by ups and downs of life, free from sorrow, impurity, and tranquil. The Mahāmaṅgala Jātaka in Fausboll's Jātaka, Vol. IV, may be taken to represent the Hindu background of the Buddhist Maṅgala Sutta.

Ratana Sutta (*Khuddakapāṭha, pp.* 3–6).—This sutta[2] is one of the finest lyrics in early Pāli poetry, a charming hymn of praise of the Buddhist holy Triad, recited to ward off dangers and secure prosperity. The poem, as we now have it, consists of two separate groups of stanzas, the one of the five

[1] There is a commentary on this sutta known as the Maṅgalatthadīpanī. This sutta also occurs in the Sutta Nipāta. But the title of the sutta in the Sutta Nipāta is Mahāmaṅgala Suttaṁ (Sutta Nipāta, P.T.S., pp. 46-47).

[2] Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 39.

stanzas (first two and the last three) being traditionally known as the original structure (ādito pañcagāthā). The remaining stanzas appear to have been inserted into the original scheme of five.

Whatever treasure there is in the world or in the next and whatever excellent jewels there are in heaven there is none equal to the Buddha. There is nothing equal to the unceasing meditation extolled by the Buddha. Those who being free from desire with a steadfast mind are firmly established in the religion of Gautama, obtain arahatship. As the pillar of a city-gate standing on the earth is immovable by the wind from the four directions, so I call him a righteous man who realises four noble truths. They that clearly meditate on the four noble truths laid down by the wise one, however much they may be led astray, cannot obtain the eighth birth in the Niraya hell. He who is blessed with the knowledge of Nibbāṇa, these three things are cast off by him—vanity of self, doubt, and false belief in vain ceremonies or any other thing that exists. Such a person is delivered from the four states of punishment and it is impossible for him to commit six deadly sins. The Buddha preached his excellent doctrine for the good of men. The wise whose old karma is destroyed and no new karma is produced, whose heart no longer cleaves to future existence, whose seeds of existence are destroyed and desires quenched extinguish like a lamp.

Tirokuḍḍa Sutta[1] (*Khuddakapāṭha, p.* 6).—The departed spirits stand outside our dwelling houses, at corners, at cross roads, they stand at our doors coming back to their old homes. Those of the kinsmen who are compassionate, bestow on them in due time food and drink, pure, sweet, and excellent, thinking let these be for our departed relatives, let them be happy. In the land of the departed

[1] Cf. Petavatthu (P.T.S.), pp. 4-5—Tirokuḍḍapetavatthu. Mrs. Rhys Davids calls this sutta as "*The saying on over the walls*".

there exist no husbandry, no tending of cattle, no commerce and no trade in gold. The departed live in that world on what they receive from this world. Weeping, sorrow, and other manners of lamentation, none of these benefit the departed. The gift offered by mankind to an well-established order of monkhood will be for their good for a long time and will surely benefit the dead. This sutta represents the earliest known Buddhist formula of offering oblations to the departed spirits, a custom evidently taken from the general custom of the Hindus.

Nidhikaṇḍasutta (*Khuddakapāṭha, p.* 7).—A man buries his treasure in a pit near water thinking thus within himself, " if occasion arises this treasure will be of use to me, when I am accused by the king or plundered by thieves, or for release from debt or in times of famine and calamity ". For these purposes a man conceals his treasure in this world. A wise man should practise virtue, a treasure which will follow him after death. Fine complexion, sweet voice, good feature, and beauty of person, pomp and power over his family—all that is obtained by this treasure. All worldly prosperity, every pleasure in celestial abode, the bliss of Nirvāṇa—all that is obtained by this treasure. A man obtaining good friends by his wisdom can obtain knowledge, emancipation and self-control by means of this treasure. Analytical knowledge, emancipation, all the perfections of a disciple, the knowledge of all individual Buddhas and the state of the Buddha—all that is obtained by this treasure. The wise and the learned should praise meritorious deeds.

Karaṇīyamettasutta (*Khuddakapāṭha, pp.* 8-9).[1] —A person should be diligent, straightforward, upright, obedient, gentle, and not vainglorious. He should not do any mean acts for which the wise might abuse him. Let all creatures be happy and

[1] Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 25, but the title of the sutta is Mettasutta or " saying on amity ".

prosperous, let them be contented. A person should not deceive another, nowhere and in no way should show disrespect to any one. Let none out of anger or sense of resentment wish misery to another. A person should cherish boundless goodwill towards all the beings. Without embracing false views and false doctrines, the virtuous man possessed of insight subduing his desire for sensual pleasures, will never be born in the womb.

Idea of Nibbāṇa in the Khuddakapāṭha.

The Khuddakapāṭha does not contain much about Nibbāṇa. In the Ratana Sutta the word *amataṁ* has been used for Nibbāṇaṁ (cf. te pattipattā amataṁ vigayha). In the Mettasuttam *Santam Padam* has been used for Nibbāṇa (cf. karaṇīyaṁ atthakusalena yaṁ taṁ santaṁ padaṁ abhisamecca, etc.).

Concluding remarks.

The Novice's questions appear to have been taken from the Vinaya. The Maṅgala Sutta, Ratana Sutta, and Karaṇīyamettasutta occur also in the Sutta Nipāta of the Khuddaka Nikāya and the Tirokuḍḍasutta also occurs in the Petavatthu. As regards the date of the work, it appears to have been compiled even after the first commitment of the canon to writing in the 1st century B.C. It has been edited by Helmer Smith for the P.T.S., London, with its commentary. The commentary appears to have been written by Buddhaghosa. The commentaries on the Khuddakapāṭha and the Sutta Nipāta are known as the Paramatthajotikā. Buddhaghosa wrote them of his own accord in the fifth century A.D. There is an edition of this book by R. C. Childers published in the J.R.A.S., 1870, N.S. with English translation and notes. A German edition by Karl Seidenstucker is also available published in Breslau in 1910. There is another edition with English translation by M. K. Ghosh and published by Messrs. Chakravartty Chatterjee and Co., Calcutta. There are Sinhalese, Burmese, and Siamese editions of this text. The text of the Khuddakapāṭha has been re-edited and translated

by Mrs. Rhys Davids in the Sacred Books of the Buddhists series under the name of the Minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon.

Dhammapada.—The Dhammapada is the second book. It contains the sublime teachings of the Buddha. The text contains 423 verses divided into 26 vaggas or chapters which are as follows: (1) Yamaka, (2) Appamāda, (3) Citta, (4) Puppha, (5) Bāla, (6) Paṇḍita, (7) Arahanta, (8) Sahassa, (9) Pāpa, (10) Daṇḍa, (11) Jarā, (12) Atta, (13) Loka, (14) Buddha, (15) Sukha, (16) Piya, (17) Kodha, (18) Mūla, (19) Dhammaṭṭha, (20) Magga, (21) Pakiṇṇaka, (22) Niraya, (23) Nāga, (24) Taṇhā, (25) Bhikkhu, and (26) Brāhmaṇa, a brief summary of which is given below :—

Chapter I—Yamakavagga[1] (*Dhammapada, P.T.S., pp.* 1–3).—Hatred does not cease by hatred. It ceases by love. Those who know that we all must come to an end in this world, their quarrels cease at once. He who lives looking for pleasures only, his senses uncontrolled, immoderate in his food, idle and weak, will be overcome by Mara. He who disregards temperance and truth and who puts on yellow robe without having cleansed himself from sin is unworthy of the yellow robe. He who knows truth in truth, untruth in untruth arrives at truth and follows true desires. An evil-doer mourns in this world and in the next; he mourns in both. He mourns and suffers when he sees the evil result of his own work. A virtuous man delights in this world, in the next and in both. He delights and rejoices when he sees the purity of his own work. A virtuous man is happy when he thinks of the good he has done.

[1] Anikkasāvo kāsāvaṁ yo vatthaṁ paridahessati, apeto damasaccena, na so kāsāvaṁ arahati. Cf. Mahābhārata, xii, 568. Anishkashāye Kāshāyaṁ īhārthaṁ iti viddhi taṁ, Dharmadhvajānāṁ muṇḍānāṁ vrittyarthaṁ iti me matiḥ.

Pare ca na vijānanti "mayaṁ ettha yamāmase", ye ca tattha vijānanti, tato sammanti medhagā ". See Theragāthā, p. 33.

Chapter II—Appamādavagga [1] (*Dhammapada, pp.* 4-5).—Earnestness is the path of immortality, thoughtlessness, the path of death. The wise people, meditative, steady, always possessed of strong powers, attain to Nirvāṇa, the highest happiness. Fools follow after vanity. Earnestness is praised and thoughtlessness is always blamed. A bhikkhu who delights in earnestness, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness, moves about like fire and a bhikkhu who delights in reflection, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness cannot fall away —he is close upon Nirvāṇa.

Chapter III—Cittavagga [2] (*Dhammapada, pp.* 5-6).—Well-guarded thoughts bring happiness. If a man's faith is unsteady, if he does not know the true law, if his peace of mind is troubled, his knowledge will never be perfect. Whatever a hater may do to a hater or an enemy to an enemy, a wrongly directed mind will do him greater mischief.

Chapter IV—Pupphavagga [3] (*Dhammapada, pp.* 7–9).—The perfume of those who possess virtue rises up to the gods as the highest. The odour of good men like good flowers travels against the wind. The fame of a good man is spread all over the regions.

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[1] "Appamādo amatampadam, pamādo maccuno padam, appamattā na mīyanti, ye pamattā yathāmatā." This verse, as recited to Asoka, occurs in the Dīpavaṁsa, VI, 53. Cf. Mahāvaṁsa (Geiger), p. 35; Jātaka, V, p. 99 and Nettipakaraṇa, p. 34.

[2] Dunniggahassa lahuno yatthakāmanipātino, cittassa damatho sādhu, cittaṁ dantaṁ sukhāvahaṁ (cf. Jātaka, I, pp. 312, 400).

[3] "Pupphāni h'eva pacinantam vyāsattamanasaṁ naraṁ suttaṁ gāmaṁ mahoghova maccu ādāya gacchati.

Pupphāni h'eva pacinantam vyāsattamanasaṁ naraṁ atittaṁ yeva kāmesa antako kurute vasam."

There is a curious similarity between these verses and verses 6540-41, and 9939 of the Śāntiparva.

"Puṣpāṇīva vicinvantaṁ anyatragatamanasaṁ
anavāptesu kāmeṣu mṛtyur abhyeti mānavaṁ
Suptaṁ vyāghraṁ mahaugho vā mṛtyur ādāya gacchat'
Sañcinvānakaṁ evainaṁ kāmānāṁ avitṛptikaṁ."

"Yathāpi bhamaro pupphaṁ vaṇṇagandhaṁ aheṭhay
paleti rasaṁ ādāya, evaṁ gāme munī care ti."

(Cf. Nettipakar

Chapter V—Bālavagga[1] (*Dhammapada, pp.* 9–11).—A fool who thinks himself wise is a fool indeed. If a fool is associated with a wise man even all his life, he will perceive truth to some extent. If an intelligent man be associated with a wise man for a moment, he will soon perceive the truth. As long as the evil deed done does not bear fruit, the fool thinks it is like honey but when it ripens, then the fool suffers grief. A fool wishes for a false reputation. If a bhikkhu realises the fact that one is the road leading to wealth and another is the road leading to Nirvāṇa, he will not yarn for honour but he will strive after separation from the world.

Chapter VI—Paṇḍitavagga[2] (*Dhammapada, pp.* 11–13).—Wise people after they have listened to the laws, become serene. Good men walk under all circumstances. A wise man should leave the dark state of ordinary life and follow the bright state of the bhikkhu. Those whose mind is well-grounded in the seven elements of knowledge who without clinging to anything rejoice in freedom from attachment, whose appetites have been conquered and who are full of light, are free in this world.

Chapter VII—Arahantavagga (*Dhammapada, pp.* 13–15).—There is no suffering for him who has

[1] Madhuvā maññatī bālo yāva pāpam na paccati
Yadā ca paccati pāpam atha (bālo) dukkhaṁ nigacchati.
The verse is taken from the Saṁyutta Nikāya where, however, we read 'thānanhi' instead of madhuvā.
Cf. Nettipakaraṇa, p. 131—Caranti bālā dummedhā amitten' eva attanā
karontā pāpakaṁ kammaṁ yaṁ hoti kaṭukapphalaṁ.
Na taṁ kammaṁ kataṁ sādhu yaṁ katvā anutappati
yassa assumukho rodaṁ vipākaṁ paṭisevatī.
Cf. Jātaka, Vol. III, p. 291.
Māse māse kusaggena bālo bhuñjetha bhojanaṁ
na so sankhatadhammānaṁ kalaṁ agghati soḷasiṁ.
Cf. Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, ix, 44.
Na hi pāpaṁ kataṁ kammaṁ sajju khīraṁ va muccati
dahantaṁ bālaṁ anveti bhasmachanno va pāvako.
Cf. Nettipakaraṇa, p. 161.

[2] Nidhīnam va pavattāraṁ yam passe vajjadassinaṁ
niggayhavādiṁ medhāviṁ tādisaṁ paṇḍitaṁ bhaje,
tādisaṁ bhajamānassa seyyo hoti na pāpiyo.
Cf. Jātaka, Vol. III, p. 367; Theragāthā, pp. 89-90.

abandoned grief, who has freed himself on all sides and thrown off the fetters. The man who is free from credulity but knows the uncreated, who has cut all ties, removed all temptations, renounced all desires, is the greatest of men.

Chapter VIII—Sahassavagga[1] (*Dhammapada, pp.* 15–17).—He who always greets and constantly reveres the aged, will gain these four things, namely life, beauty, happiness, and power. He who lives a hundred years, vicious and unrestrained, a life of one day is better if a man is virtuous and reflecting. He who lives a hundred years, ignorant and unrestrained, a life of one day is better if a man is wise and reflecting. He who lives a hundred years, idle and weak, a life of one day is better if a man has attained firm strength. He who lives a hundred years not seeing beginning and end, a life of one day is better if a man sees beginning and end. He who lives a hundred years, not seeing the immortal place, a life of one day is better if a man sees the immortal place. He who lives a hundred years, not seeing the highest law, a life of one day is better if a man sees the highest law.

Chapter IX—Pāpavagga[2] (*Dhammapada, pp.* 17–19).—A man should hasten towards good and should

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[1] The Sahassavagga is quoted as Sahasravarga in the Mahāvastu, cf. Teṣāṁ Bhagavāñ jaṭilānāṁ Dharmapadeṣu sahasravargaṁ bhāsati : ' Sahasraṁ api vācānāṁ anarthapadasamhitānāṁ, ekārthavatī śreyā yāṁ śrutvā upasāmyati. Sahasram api gāthānaṁ anarthapadasamhitānāṁ ekārthavatī śreyā yāṁ śrutvā upaśāmyati.'

Abhivādanasīlissa niccaṁ vaddhāpacāyino cattāro dhammā vaḍḍhanti : āyu, vaṇṇo, sukhaṁ balaṁ. Cf. Manu, II, 121.

Abhivādanaśīlasya nityaṁ vṛddhopasevinaḥ
Catvāri sampravardhante āyur vidyā yaśo balaṁ.
" Yo sahassaṁ sahassena sangāme mānuse jine
ekaṁ ca jiyya attānaṁ sa ve sangāmajuttamo."

Cf. Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, ix, 34.

[2] Pāpo pi passati bhadraṁ yāva pāpaṁ na paccati,
yadā ca paccati pāpaṁ (atha) pāpo pāpāni passati.
Bhadro pi passati pāpaṁ yāva bhadraṁ na paccati,
yadā ca paccati bhadraṁ (atha) bhadro bhadrāni passati.

Cf. Jātaka, Vol. I, p. 231.

" Gabbhaṁ eke upapajjanti nirayaṁ pāpakammino,
Saggaṁ sugatino yanti......anāsavā."

Cf. Mahāvastu, ii, p. 424.

keep his thought away from evil. If a man commits a sin, let him not repeat it. If a man does what is good, let him do it again. A man should think lightly of evil. If a man offends a harmless, pure and innocent person, the evil falls back upon that fool.

Chapter X—Daṇḍavagga[1] (*Dhammapada, pp.* 19–21).—All men are afraid of punishment and all men fear death. He who seeking his own happiness punishes or kills beings who also long for happiness, will not find happiness after death. Do not speak harshly to anybody. A fool does not know when he commits his evil deeds. He will have cruel suffering, loss, injury of the body, heavy affliction or loss of mind. Not nakedness, not plaited hair, not dirt, not fasting or lying on the earth, not rubbing with dust, not sitting motionless can purify a mortal who has not overcome desires.

Chapter XI—Jarāvagga[2] (*Dhammapada, pp.* 22-23).—The body in this world is wasted, full of sick-

[1] Attānaṁ upamaṁ katvā na hanneya, na ghātaye.
This is an expression which occurs frequently in Sanskrit. Cf. Hitopadeśa, I, 11—

Prāṇā yathātmano-bhiṣṭā bhūtānāṁ api te tathā,
Ātmaupamyena bhūteṣu dayāṁ kurvanti sādhavaḥ
Sukhakāmāni bhūtāni yo daṇḍena vihiṁsati,
Attano sukhaṁ esāno pecca na labhate sukhaṁ.
Cf. Manu, V, 45, cf. Netti, p. 130.

"Yo hiṁsakāni bhūtāni hinastyātmasukhecchayā,
Sa jīvaṁśca mṛtaścaiva na kvacit sukhaṁ edhate.
Cf. Mahābhārata, XIII. 5568.

Ahiṁsakāni bhūtāni daṇḍena vinihanti yaḥ,
ātmanaḥ sukhaṁ icchan sa pretya naiva sukhī bhavet.
Sabbe tasanti daṇḍassa, sabbesaṁ jīvitaṁ piyaṁ,
attānaṁ upamaṁ katvā na haneyya na ghātaye.
Cf. Jātaka, Vol. III, p. 292.

Na naggacariyā na jaṭā na paṅkā nānāsakā thaṇḍilasāyikā vā |
rājo ca jallaṁ ukkuṭikappadhānaṁ sodhenti maccaṁ avitiṇṇa kaṅkhaṁ ||
Cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 339.

"Hirīnisedho puriso koci lokasmi vijjati,
so nindaṁ appabodhati asso bhadro kasām iva.
Cf. Uttarādhyayana Sutra, p. 3.

[2] Yāni ' māni apatthāni alāpūn'eva sārade
kāpotakāni aṭṭhīni tāni disvāna kā rati ?

ness and frail; this heap of corruption breaks to pieces, life ends in death. After a stronghold has been made of the bones, it is covered with flesh and blood and there dwell in it old age and death, pride, and deceit. A man who has learnt little grows old; his flesh grows but his knowledge does not grow. Men who have not observed proper discipline and have not gained wealth in their youth, perish like old herons. Men who have not observed proper discipline and have not gained wealth in their youth lie like broken bows.

Chapter XII—Attavagga[1] (*Dhammapada, pp.* 23–25).—Let each man direct himself first to what is proper, then let him teach others, thus a wise man will not suffer. Self is the lord of self, who else could be the lord. He whose wickedness is very great brings himself down to that state where his enemy wishes him to be. It is difficult to perform good and beneficial deeds. Bad deeds can be easily performed. A fool who scorns the rule of the venerable, of the elect, of the virtuous and follows a false doctrine, bears fruit to his own destruction. Let no one forget his own duty for the sake of another however great.

In the Rudrāyanāvadāna of the Divyāvadāna this verse appears as

Yānimāni apariddhāni vikṣiptāni diśo diśaḥ
Kapotavarṇāni asthīni tāni dṛṣtvaiha kā ratiḥ.

The expression 'mamsalohitalepanaṁ' is curiously like that used in Manu, VI, 76, māmsaśoṇitalepanaṁ, and in several passages of the Mahābhārata, XII, 12462, 12053. Jīranti ve rājarathā sucittā ......pavedayanti." Cf. Jātaka, V, 483.

[1] Cf. the first stanza of this vagga with the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, 1, 4, 8; 2, 4; 4, 5—

Attā hi attano nātho; ko hi nātho paro siyā?
Attanā hi sudantena nāthaṁ labhati dullabhaṁ.

Cf. Gītā, Ch. VI.

"Uddharedātmanātmānaṁ nātmānamavasādayet
ātmaiva hyātmano bandhurātmaiva ripurātmanaḥ
bandhurātmātmanastasya yenātmaivātmanā jitaḥ
anātmanasthu śatrutve varttetātmaiva śatruvat".

Attadatthaṁ paratthena bahunāpi na hāpaye—cf. Bhagavadgītā, the translation of the passage in the Bhagavadgītā is this: "Better one's own dharma, however ill-performed, than others' dharma well-performed tho' it be".

Chapter XIII—Lokavagga[1] (*Dhammapada, pp.* 25-26).—One should not follow false doctrine. One should follow the law of virtue. He whose evil deeds are covered by good deeds brightens up this world like the moon. If a man has transgressed the one law and speaks lies and scoffs at another world, there is no evil he will not do. The reward of sotāpatti is better than sovereignty over the earth, going to heaven and lordship over all the worlds.

Chapter XIV—Buddhavagga[2] (*Dhammapada, pp.* 27–29).—The teaching of the Awakened is not to commit any sin, to do good to others, and to purify one's own mind. Patience is the highest penance and long suffering is the highest Nirvāṇa (cf. Dīgha, II, 49). He is not an ascetic who insults others. Not to blame, not to strike, to live restrained under the law, to be moderate in eating, to sleep and sit alone and to dwell on the highest thoughts—this is the teaching of the Buddha (cf. Dīgha, II, 49; Netti, 43, 81, 171, and 186; Mahāvastu, III, 420). The wise people know that lusts have a short taste and cause pain. He who takes refuge in the Buddha, the law and the church and he who with clear understanding sees the four holy truths, namely, suffering, origin of suffering, cessation of suffering, and the path leading to its cessation, is

[1] Uttiṭṭhe nappamajjeyya, dhammaṁ sucaritaṁ care........ paramhi ca—cf. Milinda, 213.

Haṁsādiccapathe yanti—

In Hinduism the Paramahaṁsa 'the swan' is the mystic name for the literated being (cf. the Bhagavadgītā) who goes to the Sun (āditya) and is reborn no more; also in Chāndyogya Upanisad, VIII, 7–5, we read, "when mind ceases to act he attains the sun. That is the way to the region above. It is open to the learned but closed to the ignorant." Those who are reborn are said to go on the path of the moon.—See the Buddha's Path of Virtue by F. L. Woodward, p. 43 f.n.

[2] Api dibbesu kāmesu ratiṁ so nādhigacchati, taṇhakkhayarato hoti sammāsambuddhasāvako. There is a curious similarity between this verse and verse 6503 (9919) of the Śāntiparva—"yacca kāmasukham loke, yacca dibbaṁ mahatsukhaṁ, tṛṣṇā kṣayasukhasyaite nārhataḥ ṣoḍaśīṁ kalām".

delivered from all pain. A Buddha is not easily found, he is not born anywhere.

Chapter XV—Sukhavagga[1] (*Dhammapada, pp.* 30-31).—There is no fire like passion, there is no losing thread like hatred, there is no pain like this body, and there is no happiness higher than rest. Hunger is the worst of all diseases, the elements of the body, the greatest evil; if one knows this truly, that is Nirvāṇa, the highest happiness. Health is the greatest of gifts, contentedness, the best riches, trust is the best of relationships, Nirvāṇa, the highest happiness (cf. Majjhima, I, 508, 257; Jātaka, iii, 196). He who has tasted the sweetness of solitude and tranquillity is free from fear and sin. The sight of the elect is good, to live with them is always happiness; if a man does not see fools, he will be truly happy. Company with fools is always painful while the company with the wise is delightful. One ought to follow the wise, the intelligent, the learned, the much enduring, the dutiful, and the elect.

Chapter XVI—Piyavagga (*Dhammapada, pp.* 31-33).—Those who love nothing, hate nothing have no fetters. From pleasure comes grief, from pleasure comes fear, he who is free from pleasure knows neither grief nor fear. From affection comes grief and from it comes fear; he who is free from affection knows neither grief nor fear. Grief comes from lust and from lust comes fear. He who is free

[1] Susukhaṁ vata jivāma yesan no n'atthi kiñcanaṁ, pītibhakkhā bhavissāma devā ābhassarā yathā—cf. the words placed in the mouth of the king of Videha while his residence Mithilā was in flames, which are curiously like this verse. Cf. Mahābhārata, XII, 9917—Susukhaṁ vata jīvāmi yasya me nāsti kiñcana, mithilāyāṁ pradīpatāyāṁ na me dahyati kiñcana.

Jayaṁ veraṁ pasavati, dukkhan seti parājito,
Upasanto sukhaṁ seti hitvā jayaparājayaṁ.

This verse is ascribed to the Buddha. It exists in the Northern or Sanskrit and in the Southern or Palī text, that is, in the Avadānaśataka and in the Saṁyutta Nikāya.

In the Avadānaśataka the Sanskrit version is as follows:—

Yayo vairam prasvati, dukkham śete parājitaḥ
Upaśāntaḥ sukhaṁ śete hitvā jayaparājayaṁ.

from lust knows neither grief nor fear.[1] He who possesses virtue and intelligence, who is just, speaks the truth and does what is his own business, him the world will hold dear.

Chapter XVII—Kodhavagga[2] (*Dhammapada, pp.* 33-34).—A man should overcome anger by love. Let him overcome evil by good, let him overcome the greedy by liberality and the liar by truth (cf. Jātaka, ii, 4).

The sages who injure nobody and who always control their body will go to Nirvāṇa. Those who are watchful, who study day and night, and who strive after Nirvāṇa, their passions will come to an end. Beware of bodily anger and control your body. Beware of the anger of the mind and control your mind. The wise who control their body, who control their tongue, who control their mind are indeed well controlled.

Chapter XVIII—Malavagga[3] (*Dhammapada, pp.* 35–37).—When your impurities are removed and you are free from guilt, you will enter into the heavenly world of the elect. You will not enter into the birth and decay when your impurities are removed and you are free from guilt. Bad conduct is the taint of woman, niggardliness, the taint of a bene-

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[1] Cf. Kaṭhopaniṣad, śl. 14, 3 vallī.

[2] The idea conveyed in the first stanza of this vagga is similar to the idea found in the Muṇḍakopaniṣad, śl. 8, 3rd Muṇḍaka, pt. II.

[3] Ākāse padaṁ n'atthi, samaṇo n'atthi bāhire,
papañcābhiratā pajā, nippapañcā Tathāgatā.
Ākāse padaṁ n'atthi, samaṇo n'atthi bāhire,
Saṅkhārā sassatā n'atthi, n'atthi Buddhānaṁ iñjitaṁ.

In the story of Subhadda the wanderer (Dh. Commy., III, p. 378) who came to see the Master on his death-bed, he asked these three questions: 'Is there any track in space? Is there any (real) recluse in the outer world? Are the constituents (of existence) eternal? These gāthās were the answer.

In the canonical account (Dīgha N., II, 150) he only asked whether the leaders of heretical sects had true knowledge. The Master put aside the question and said that outside the eightfold way (in four degrees) there were no real samaṇas or recluses. See the Buddha's Path of Virtue, pp. 62-63. So karohi dīpam attano; khippaṁ vāyama, paṇḍito bhava......ehisi. (cf. Chāndogya Upaniṣad, 3, 13, 7; Kaṭhopaniṣad, 5, 15).

factor, tainted are all evil ways in this world and in the next. Ignorance is the greatest taint. The monks should throw off that taint and become taintless. Life is easy to live for a man who is without shame. It is hard to live for a modest man, who always looks for what is pure, disinterested, quiet, spotless, and intelligent. He who destroys life, who speaks untruth, who in the world takes what is not given him, who goes to another man's wife, who gives himself to drinking intoxicating liquors, he digs up his own root. There is no fire like passion, no shark like hatred, no snare like folly, and no torrent like greed. It is easy to find out the fault of others but it is difficult to find one's own fault. If a man looks after the faults of others and is always inclined to be offended, his own passions will grow and he cannot destroy them. The Buddhas are free from vanity. A man cannot become a samaṇa outwardly.

Chapter XIX—Dhammaṭṭhavagga (*Dhammapada, pp.* 38-39).—A man is not learned because he talks much. He who is patient, free from hatred and fear is learned. A man is not a supporter of the law because he talks much. If he has learnt little but sees the law, he is a supporter of the law, he never neglects the law. A man is not an elder because his head is grey and his age may be ripe. He in whom there are truth, virtue, piety, restraint, moderation, he who is free from impurity and is wise,—he is called an elder. An envious, stingy and dishonest man does not become respectable by means of much talking only or by the beauty of his complexion. He in whom all this is destroyed, and taken out with the very root, he, when freed from hatred and wise is called respectable. He who always quits the evil, whether small or large, is called a samaṇa because he has quitted all evils. He who follows the whole law is a bhikkhu, not he who only begs. He who is above good and evil, who is chaste, who with care passes through the world, is called a bhikkhu. A man is not a muni

because he observes silence. A muni is one who chooses the good and avoids the evil. A man is not an elect because he injures living creatures. He who has obtained the extinction of desires has obtained confidence.

Chapter XX—Maggavagga[1] (*Dhammapada, pp.* 40–42).—The best of ways is the eight linked one; the best of truths the four words; the best of virtues passionlessness; the best of men is he who has eyes to see. The Buddhas only point out the way. You have got to exert. The thoughtful who enter the way are freed from the bondage of Māra. All created things perish—he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain. This is the way to purity. All created things are grief and pain—he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain. This is the way leading to purity. All forms are unreal—he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain. This is the way leading to purity. A lazy and slothful man never finds the way to knowledge. Through zeal knowledge is acquired. So long as the desire of man towards women even the smallest is not destroyed, so long is his mind in bondage.

Chapter XXI—Pakiṇṇakavagga (*Dhammapada, pp.* 42–44).—If by leaving a small pleasure one sees a great pleasure, let a wise man leave the small pleasure and look to the great. He who by causing pain to others wishes to obtain pleasure for himself, he entangled in the bonds of hatred will never be freed from hatred. The desires of unruly and thoughtless people are always increasing. A true Brāhmaṇa goes scatheless though he has killed his father and mother and two valiant kings, though

[1] Etamhi tumhe paṭipannā dukkhass 'antaṁ karissatha,
akkhāto ve mayā maggo aññāya sallasanthanaṁ.

The thorns are the stings and torments of passion. The Buddha has been called the "Great-thorn-remover", Lalitavistara, p. 550; see Mr. Woodward's The Buddha's Path of Virtue, p. 68. "Sabbe saṅkhārā aniccā........esa maggo visuddhiyā; cf. Theragāthā, 676–678; Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, 4. 4, 8.

he has destroyed a kingdom with all its subjects. The disciples of the Buddha Gotama are always wide awake and their thoughts day and night are always set on the Buddha. Their thoughts are always set on the law and on the church. Their mind always delights in compassion. It is hard to leave the world, to enjoy the world, hard is the monastery, painful are the houses, painful it is to dwell with equals and the itinerant mendicant is beset with pain. A man full of faith if endowed with virtue and glory is respected everywhere. Good people shine from afar like the snowy mountains and bad people are not seen like arrows shot by night. Sitting alone, lying down alone, walking alone without ceasing and alone subduing himself, let a man be happy near the edge of a forest.[1]

Chapter XXII—Nirayavagga (*Dhammapada*, *pp.* 44–46).—Many men whose shoulders are covered with the yellow gown are ill-conditioned and unrestrained. Such evil-doers on account of their evil deeds go to hell. A reckless man who covets his neighbour's wife gains demerit, an uncomfortable bed, punishment and hell. Let no man think of his neighbour's wife. Badly practised asceticism leads to hell. An act carelessly performed, a broken vow, and hesitating obedience to discipline—all this brings no great reward. An evil deed is better than an act left undone for a man repents for it afterwards. A good deed is better done, for having done it, one does not repent. They who are ashamed of what they ought not to be ashamed of, and are not ashamed of what they ought to be ashamed of, such men embracing false doctrines enter the evil path. They who fear when they ought not to fear and fear not when they ought to fear, such men embracing false doctrines enter the evil path. They who see sin where there is no sin and see no sin where there is sin, such men

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[1] Mātaraṁ pitaraṁ hantvā. . . . brāhmaṇo (294 verse) cf. Netti-pakaraṇa, 165.

embracing false doctrines enter the evil path. They who see sin where there is sin and no sin where there is no sin, such men embracing the true doctrine enter the good path.[1]

Chapter XXIII—Nāgavagga[2] (*Dhammapada, pp.* 46–48).—The best among men is one who is tamed and is one who silently endures abuse. If a man finds a prudent companion who walks with him, is wise and lives soberly, he may walk with him overcoming all dangers, happy, and considerate. It is better to live alone. One should not associate himself with a fool. Pleasant is attainment of intelligence and pleasant is avoidance of sins.

Chapter XXIV—Tanhāvagga[3] (*Dhammapada, pp.* 48–52).—The thirst of a thoughtless man grows like a creeper.[4] One should dig up the root of thirst. Men undergo birth and decay repeatedly if given up to pleasure and deriving happiness. Beset with lust men run about like a snared hare. Those who are slaves to passion run down the stream of desires. If one's own mind is altogether free from thirst, he will not be subject to continued births and destructions. He who is free from thirst and affection, who understands the words and their interpretations, who knows the order of letters, he has received his last body, he is called the great sage, the great

[1] Kuso yathā duggahito hatthaṁ evānukantati.... upakaḍḍhati (Verse, 311). Cf. Saṁyutta, N., I, 49.

[2] Appamādaratā hotha, sacittaṁ anurakkhatha....kuñjaro (Verse, 327). Cf. Milinda, 379.

[3] Sabbābhibhū sabbavidū'haṁ asmi, sabbesu dhammesu anūpalitto, sabbañjaho taṇhakkhaye vimutto, sayaṁ abhiññāya kaṁ uddiseyyaṁ ?

This was the reply of the Buddha to one Upaka who, struck by the Master's radiance after attaining Nibbāṇa, enquired who was his teacher and what was the cause of his joy.

Cf. Majjhima Nikāya, I, 171 ; see Woodword's The Buddha's Path of Virtue, p. 88.

[4] Yathāpi mūle anupaddave daḷhe chinno pi rukkho punar eva rūhati......punappunaṁ.

Cf. Nettipakaraṇa, 42 ; cf. Muṇḍakopaniṣad, Śl. 2, third Muṇḍaka, pt. II.—"Kāmān yaḥ kāmayate manyamānaḥ sa kāmabhiryāyate yatra tatra"

man. The gift of the law exceeds all gifts, the delight in the law exceeds all delights, and the extinction of thirst overcomes all pain. Mankind is ruined by passion. Therefore a gift bestowed on the passionless brings great reward. Mankind is ruined by hatred. Therefore, a gift bestowed on those who do not hate, brings great reward. Mankind is ruined by vanity and lust. Therefore, a gift bestowed on those who are free from vanity and lust, brings great reward.

Chapter XXV—Bhikkhuvagga (*Dhammapada, pp.* 52–55).—He is a bhikkhu (monk) who controls his hand, feet, and speech. He is well controlled. A bhikkhu controls his mouth, speaks wisely and calmly, and teaches the meaning and the law. He dwells in the law, finds delight in it, meditates on it, and recollects it. A bhikkhu does not pay any attention to several pleasures. A bhikkhu possesses the following qualities, e.g., watchfulness over the senses, contentedness, restraint under the law. He should keep the company of noble friends whose life is pure and who are not slothful. A bhikkhu should be perfect in his duties. The bhikkhu whose body, tongue, and mind are quieted, who is collected and has rejected the baits of the world is called quiet. The bhikkhu full of delight, who is happy in the doctrine of the Buddha, will obtain Nirvāṇa. He who even as a young bhikkhu applies himself to the doctrine of the Buddha brightens up this world like the moon when free from clouds.

Chapter XXVI—Brahmāṇavagga[1] (*Dhammapada, pp.* 55–60).—He who is thoughtful, blameless, settled, dutiful, free from passion and who has attained the highest end is a Brāhmaṇa. No one should attack a Brāhmaṇa but no Brāhmaṇa should let himself fly at his aggressor. He who does

[1] Read the first stanza of this varga and cf. it with the Bṛhadāraṇyakopanishad, 4, 4, 7—

"Yadā sarve pramucyante kāmāye'syahṛdiśritāḥ atha martto'mṛto bhavatyatra Brahma samaśnute."

not offend by body, word, or thought and is controlled on these three points is a Brāhmaṇa. A man does not become a Brāhmaṇa by his platted hair, by his family, or by birth; in whom there are truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a Brāhmaṇa. The man who wears dirty raiments, who is emaciated and covered with veins, who meditates alone in the forest is called a Brāhmaṇa. A person is called a Brāhmaṇa who is free from bonds and attachments. A Brāhmaṇa endures reproach, stripes, and bonds. He knows the end of his own suffering. He does not kill nor cause slaughter. He is a Brāhmaṇa who is tolerant with the intolerant, mild with the violent and free from greed among the greedy. A Brāhmaṇa is he who utters true speech, instructive and free from harshness. He is not a Brāhmaṇa who fosters no desires for this world or for the next. He is a Brāhmaṇa who in this world has risen above ties, good, and evil, who is free from grief, sin, and impurity. A Brāhmaṇa is pure, serene, undisturbed, and bright like the moon. He has abandoned all desires. He is a hero who has conquered all the worlds. He is a Brāhmaṇa who knows the destruction and return of beings everywhere, who is free from bondage, the blessed, and the enlightened. He is a Brāhmaṇa whose passions are extinct, who calls nothing his own, the manly, the noble, the hero, the great sage, the conqueror, the indifferent, the accomplished, and the awakened. A Brāhmaṇa is he who knows his former abodes, sees heaven and hell, has reached the end of births, is perfect in knowledge, a sage, and whose perfections are all perfect.[1]

The verses of the Dhammapada are compiled from various sources but nowhere do we find any mention of the authorship of each of the verses.

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[1] Yassa kāyena vācāya manasā n'atthi dukkaṭam......taṁ ahaṁ brūmi brāhmanaṁ, cf. Netti 183.—Na cāhaṁ brāhmanaṁ brūmi yonijaṁ mattisambhavaṁ....brāhmanaṁ, cf. Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, p. 14.

The verses are mostly detached. The majority of verses is found in other canonical texts. The arrangement seems to be arbitrary. The chapter on miscellany, for instance, stands in the middle instead of coming at the end. The language of the work is smooth and appears to be similar to that of the gāthās. The inflexion of words is perfectly regular and rare are the irregularities caused by metrical exigencies here and there. The syntax is easy. Two metres, anuṣṭup, and trishṭup, are used. The verses are charming to sympathetic readers, and their import is intelligible throughout. Happy similes chosen from every day life have beautified the style, the striking feature whereof is the use of contrast, made to show the bright as well as the dark sides of the same questions in parallel language. In the time of the Mahāvihāra fraternity a thorough knowledge of the Dhammapada and its commentary entitled students of Pāli literature to the popular degree called "Khuddakabhāṇaka". The language is chaste, elegant, and sometimes simple. The verses are full of similes. The chapters on Bhikkhu and Brāhmaṇa are worth studying. A good idea of nirvāṇa can be gathered by going through some of the verses of this work. It is still highly esteemed in Ceylon as a classical work and is used as a text-book for novices who can gain the higher ordination or upasampadā on proving their thorough understanding of the Dhammapada text and its commentary. It is indispensable to students of Buddhism.

Pāli Dhammapada, Prākrit Dhammapada, and the Chinese Fa-kheu-king compared.

There are, strictly speaking, five recensions of the Dhammapada, viz. (1) the Pāli, (2) the Prākrit, (3) the mixed Sanskrit which is supposed to have been the original of the Chinese Fa-kheu-king, but which, however, is no longer extant, (4) the Sanskrit which comprises, in the first instance, the original of the Chinese version of the Dhammapada incorporated in the Ch'uh-yau-king, and in the second instance

the Udānavarga, another Sanskrit Dhammapada. The Ch'uh-yau-king seems to have been, as implied by its title, a Dhammapada commentary rather than a Dhammapada text. The (5) fifth is the Fa-kheu-king, which is a Chinese recension in translation, which has been rendered into English by Samuel Beal.

The Pāli Dhammapada is the best known and the most complete, and has been edited and translated in several languages. The Prākrit Dhammapada is preserved only in one fragmentary manuscript in Kharoṣṭhī discovered in Khotān; but as the record is most incomplete it is impossible to say exactly what its contents had been (Barua and Mitra, Prākrit Dhammapada, p. viii).

The existence of the mixed Sanskrit original is known only from the Chinese Fa-kheu-king, and does not, therefore, come into our account. The Fa-kheu-king, according to Mr. Beal, is more than a faithful translation of the Indian text which the monk Wei-chi-lan carried from India to China in 223 A.D. (Beal's Dhammapada, p. 35). The Chinese translator has added and altered the distribution of the verses according to his will. The existence of the original of the Chinese version of the Dhammapada incorporated in the Ch'uh-yau-king is known only from the translator's preface, but is no longer extant. Rockhill, however, identifies the Dhammapada text in the Ch'uh-yau-king with the Udānavarga (Rockhill's Udānavarga, p. x), which is again another Dhammapada text in pure classical Sanskrit. A fragmentary manuscript of this text in a later variety of the Gupta script has been found at Turfan. The Dharmapada has also been quoted in the Mahāvastu in the shape of a whole chapter, the Sahasravarga containing 24 stanzas (Senart, Mahāvastu, III, p. 434—"*dharma-padeṣu sahasravargaḥ*").

To take the Pāli Dhammapada first into consideration the following table may easily be provided with regard to its chapters and verses :—

Title of chapter, Pāli Dhammapada		*Number of verses*
1. Yamakavagga (Twin verses)	..	20
2. Appamādavagga (on Earnestness)	..	12
3. Cittavagga (Mind verses)	..	11
4. Pupphavagga (Flower verses)	..	16
5. Bālavagga (on the Fool) ..	..	16
6. Paṇḍitavagga (on the Wise)	..	14
7. Arahantavagga (on the Arhant)	..	10
8. Sahassavagga (Number verses)	..	16
9. Pāpavagga (on the Evil) ..	..	13
10. Daṇḍavagga (on Punishment)	..	17
11. Jarāvagga (on the Old Age)	..	11
12. Attavagga (on the Self) ..	..	10
13. Lokavagga (on the World)	..	12
14. Buddhavagga (on the Buddha)	..	18
15. Sukhavagga (on Happiness)	..	12
16. Piyavagga (on the Agreeable)	..	12
17. Kodhavagga (on Anger) ..	..	14
18. Malavagga (on Impurity)	..	21
19. Dhammaṭṭhavagga (on the Just)	..	17
20. Maggavagga (on the Way)	..	17
21. Pakiṇṇakavagga (miscellaneous verses)		16
22. Nirayavagga (on Hell) ..	..	14
23. Nāgavagga (on the Elephant)	..	14
24. Taṇhāvagga (on Desire) ..	..	26
25. Bhikkhuvagga (on the Bhikkhu)	..	23
26. Brāhmaṇavagga (on the Brāhmaṇas)		41
		423 vv.

The chapters and verses of the Prākrit Dhammapada as they occur in the arrangement provided by Barua and Mitra in supersession of those of M. Senart are as follows (Prākrit Dhammapada, p. viii, Intro.) :—

Orders of chapters	*Titles of chapters with number of verses*	*Corresponding chapters of the Pāli Dhammapada with number of verses*
1	Magavaga (30)	20. Maggavagga (17)
2	Apramādavaga (25)	2. Appamādavagga (12)
3	Citavaga (5, incomplete)	3. Cittavagga (11)

Orders of chapters	*Titles of chapters with number of verses*	*Corresponding chapters of the Pāli Dhammapada with number of verses*
4	Puṣavaga (15)	4. Pupphavagga (16)
5	Sahasavaga (17)	8. Sahassavagga (16)
6	Panitavaga or Dhamaṭhavaga (10)	6. Paṇḍitavagga (14) 19. Dhammaṭṭhavagga (17)
7	Balavaga (7, incomplete)	5. Bālavagga (16)
8	Jarāvaga (25)	11. Jarāvagga (11)
9	Suhavaga (20, almost complete).	15. Sukhavagga (12)
10	Taṣavaga (7, incomplete)	24. Taṇhāvagga (26)
11	Bhikhuvaga (40)	25. Bhikkhuvagga (23)
12	Bramanavaga (50 ?)	26. Brāhmaṇavagga (41)

From the table given above, it is apparent that a complete record of the Prākrit text has not been recovered so that it is impossible to say exactly how many chapters and verses the text contained. It is equally difficult to ascertain the arrangement of its chapters from detached plates and fragments on which Mon. Senart's edition is based (Barua and Mitra, Prākrit Dhammapada, p. viii, Intro.).

Fa-kheu-king, the Chinese Recension referred to above, has, as we have already noticed on the authority of the Chinese translator, altered the number and distribution of the verses in the original. But the translator has done something more; he has added thirteen new chapters in Chinese, in addition to the existing 26 of the Pāli Dhammapada, making up a total of 39 chapters and 752 verses.

Titles of chapters in order with number of verses	*Corresponding chapters of the Pāli Dhammapada in order with number of verses*
1. Impermanence (21) ..	....
2. Insight into wisdom (29)	....
3. The Srāvaka (19) ..	....
4. Simple faith (18) ..	....
5. Observance of Duty (16)	....
6. Reflection (12) ..	....
7. Loving kindness (19)	....
8. Conversation (12) ..	....

Titles of chapters in order with number of verses	*Corresponding chapters of the Pāli Dhammapada in order with number of verses*
9. Twin verses (22) ..	1. Yamakavagga (20)
10. Earnestness (20) ..	2. Appamādavagga (12)
11. On Mind (12) ..	3. Cittavagga (11)
12. On Flower (17) ..	4. Pupphavagga (16)
13. On the Fool (21) ..	5. Bālavagga (16)
14. On the Wise (17) ..	6. Paṇḍitavagga (14)
15. On the Arahant (10)	7. Arahantavagga (10)
16 Number verses (16) ..	8. Sahassavagga (16)
17. On Evil (22) ..	9. Pāpavagga (13)
18. On Punishment (14)	10. Daṇḍavagga (17)
19. On Old Age (14) ..	11. Jarāvagga (11)
20. On Self (14) ..	12. Attavagga (10)
21. On the World (14) ..	13. Lokavagga (12)
22. On the Buddha (21)..	14. Buddhavagga (18)
23. On Happiness (14) ..	15. Sukhavagga (12)
24. On the Agreeable (12)	16. Piyavagga (12)
25. On Anger (26) ..	17. Kodhavagga (14)
26. On Impurity (19) ..	18. Malavagga (21)
27. On the Just (17) ..	19. Dhammaṭṭhavagga (17)
28. On the Way (28) ..	20. Maggavagga (17)
29. Miscellaneous verses (14)	21. Pakiṇṇavagga (16)
30. On Hell (16) ..	22. Nirayavagga (14)
31. On Elephant (18) ..	23. Nāgavagga (14)
32. On Desire (32) ..	24. Taṇhāvagga (26)
33. Advantageous Service (20)	....
34. On the Bhikkhus (32)	25. Bhikkhuvagga (23)
35. On the Brāhmaṇas (40)	26. Brāhmaṇavagga (41)
36. Nirvāṇa (36) ..	....
37. Birth and Death (18)	....
38. Profit of Religion (19)	....
39. Good Fortune (19) ..	....

About the first and the last two chapters of the Fa-kheu-king, a word of comment is necessary.

The last chapter on Good Fortune may be regarded, as has already been pointed out (Beal, Dhammapada, p. 208), as a translation of some Indian recension of the Maṅgala Sutta, whereas the chapter on Profit of Religion 'appears to be a translation of some Indian recension of the Mahāmaṅgala Jātaka (Prākrit Dhammapada, p. xiv—Introduction). Most of the verses of the first chapter on Impermanence and the nineteenth chapter on Old Age can be traced in chapter 8 (Jarāvaga) of the Prākrit Dhammapada, as also in the first chapter of the Udānavarga dealing with Impermanence. Chapter 3 on the Srāvaka, and chapter 8 on conversation have striking parallels in corresponding chapters of the Udānavarga.

It has already been mentioned that the Udānavarga is a Dhammapada text in classical Sanskrit of which a fragmentary manuscript in a later variety of the Gupta script has been found at Turfan. The Tibetan version (The Tibetan translation was made during the reign of King Ral-pa-chan A.D. 817-842; Rockhill, Udānavarga, Intro., pp. xi-xii) of this manuscript has been translated by Rockhill under the title of Udānavarga. Pischel gives us a table which illustrates the comparativeness of the Tibetan and Sanskrit versions of the Dhammapada with that of the Pāli text.

	Sanskrit Dhammapada or Udānavarga with chapters in order and number of verses	*Tibetan version of the Sanskrit Dhammapada or Udānavarga with chapters and no. of verses*	*Pāli Dhammapada with chapters and number of verses*
Chap.	II. 20.	II. 20.	....
,,	V. 27.	V. 28.	XVI. 12.
,,	VIII. 15.	VIII. 15.	....
,,	XVI. 24.	XVI. 23.	XXI. 16.
,,	XX. 22.	XX. 21.	XVII. 14.
,,	XXIX. 57. (66 or 65 ?).	XXIX. 59.	I. 20.
,,	XXX. 51 (52).	XXX. 53.	XV. 12.
,,	XXXI. 60.	XXXI. 64.	III. 11.

The multiplication of verses in several chapters of the Prākrit Dhammapada (Chapters 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 11, and 12) in addition to those already existing in the Pāli text is due to different causes and circumstances. The Prākrit text contains some verses that might have evidently been compiled from canonical sources unknown to or untouched by the compiler of the Pāli text. Some verses may similarly be regarded as independent compositions of its own compiler. Still there are other verses which may be regarded as mere amplifications of some existing and well-known verses, or presentation of old verses of the Pāli text in a garb of new expressions. The same remark can equally be applied to the multiplication of verses in the Fa-kheu-king original and the Udānavarga (For instances of multiplication of verses and its significance, see Prākrit Dhammapada, Intro., p. xxxi) with regard to the corresponding chapters of the Pāli Dhammapada.

As we have already noticed, the Fa-kheu-king original has 26 chapters out of 39 in common with the Pāli Dhammapada. The remaining 13 chapters were undoubtedly added later on by the translator of the sanskrit original. It has already been pointed out above that some of these additional chapters were drawn upon some already existing Buddhist texts. But a closer scrutiny shows that the translator of the original made use of one Pāli Buddhist Text namely, the Sutta Nipāta, more than any other in the composition of the additional chapters. The chapters on Impermanency, Insight into wisdom, the Disciple, simple faith, love, words, and finally, good fortune have very close similarities respectively with the Salla Sutta, Uṭṭhāna Sutta, Cunda Sutta, Āḷavaka Sutta, Metta Sutta, Subhāsita Sutta, and the Mahāmaṅgala Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta. Like the additional chapters, the 26 common chapters of the Pāli Dhammapada and the Fa-kheu-king original had their common canonical source in the Sutta Nipāta as we now have it.

The Udānavarga, however, contains 33 chapters which is equal to that of the text portion of the original of the Ch'uh-yau-king. They have evidently 26 chapters in common with the Pāli text; only seven are later additions which were probably based upon certain poems of works similar to the Sutta Nipāta, the Dhammapada, and the Jātaka book (Prākrit Dhammapada, Intro., p. xxx).

The Sutta Nipāta and the Jātaka book may also be said to have served as the canonical sources of some of the additional verses of the Prākrit Dhammapada as well (Barua and Mitra, Prākrit Dhammapada, Intro., p. xxx).

Idea of Nibbāṇa in the Dhammapada.

In the Appamādavagga it is said that earnestness is the path of immortality and thoughtlessness the path of death (cf. Appamādo amatapadaṁ, pamādo maccuno padam), and those wise people who delight in earnestness and rejoice in the knowledge of the Ariyas and who are meditative, steady, and always possessed of strong powers, attain to Nibbāṇa, the highest happiness (cf. Te jhāyino sātatikā niccaṁ daḷhaparakkamā, Phusanti dhīrā nibbāṇaṁ yogakkhemam anuttaram). In the same vagga it is further said that a bhikkhu who delights in reflection, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness, cannot fall away (from his perfect state)—he is close upon Nibbāṇa (cf. Appamādarato bhikkhu Pamāde bhayadassivā abhabbo parihānāya nibbāṇass'eva santike).

In the Bālavagga it is said that the paths to the acquisition of wealth and to the attainment of Nibbāṇa are quite different, and that if one wishes to win Nibbāṇa he should strive after separation from the world (cf. Aññā hi lābhūpanisā, aññā nibbānagāminī, evam etam abhiññāya, bhikkhu Buddhassa sāvako sakkāraṁ nābhinandeyya, vivekaṁ anubrūhaye).

In the Buddhavagga it is said that the Buddha calls patience the highest penance and long suffering the highest Nibbāṇa (cf. Khantī paramaṁ tapo titikkhā, nibbāṇaṁ paramaṁ vadanti Buddhā).

In the Sukhavagga it is said that hunger is the worst of diseases, the elements of the body the greatest evil ; if one knows this truly, that is Nibbāṇa (cf. jigacchāparamā rogā saṅkhārā paramā dukkhā, etaṁ ñatvā yathābhūtaṁ, nibbānaṁ paramaṁ sukhaṁ). In the same vagga it is also said that health is the greatest of gifts, contentedness the best riches ; trust is the best of relationships, and Nibbāṇa is the highest happiness (cf. Ārogyaparamā lābhā, santuṭṭhi paramaṁ dhanaṁ, vissāsaparamā ñātī, nibbāṇaṁ paramaṁ sukhaṁ).

In the Kodhavagga it is said that those who are ever watchful, who study day and night, and who strive after Nibbāṇa, their passions will come to an end (cf. Sadā jāgaramānānaṁ, ahorattānusikkhinaṁ nibbāṇaṁ adhimuttānaṁ, atthaṁ gacchanti āsavā).

In the Maggavagga (cf. Etaṁ atthavasaṁ ñatvā paṇḍito sīlasamvuto, nibbāṇagamanaṁ maggaṁ khippaṁ eva visodhaye), the way to the attainment of Nibbāṇa has been described. He who knows that all created things perish and lead to grief and pain, that all forms are unreal, that one should be well restrained in speech, mind, and body, and that one should shake off lust and desire and cut out the love of self, is sure to win Nibbāṇa.

In the Bhikkhuvagga it is said that without knowledge there is no meditation, without meditation there is no knowledge ; he who has knowledge and meditation is near unto Nibbāṇa (cf. Natthi jhānaṁ apaññassa paññā natthi ajjhāyato, yaṁhi jhānaṁ ca paññā ca, sa ve nibbāṇasantike).

Different editions and translations of the Dhammapada.

The Dhammapada was first published in Roman characters by Fausböll in 1885, a second edition appearing in 1900. The two editions were exhausted, necessitating another edition. Sūriya Sumaṅgala Thera undertook the task of editing the Dhammapada under the auspices of the P.T.S. in 1914 ; his work was based on two Sinhalese edi one Burmese edition, one Siamese edition,

Fausböll's second edition. The editor acknowledges to have consulted the ancient Sinhalese glossary to the Dhammapada commentary which was written by Abā Salamevan Kasup V (Abhaya Sīlameghavaṇṇa Kassapa), king of Ceylon, who flourished in 929–939 A.D. Dr. Dines Andersen's glossary of the words of the Dhammapada is an invaluable aid to the study of this text. This book is so widely studied that there are four German translations, two English translations, two French translations, and one Italian translation. They are as follows :—

1. German translation by Weber (Z.D.M.G., 14, 1860, and Indische Studien, Vol. I, 1860).
2. German translation by L. V. Schroder (Worte der Wahrheit, Leipzig, 1892).
3. German translation by K. E. Neumann (Der Wahrheitspfad, Leipzig, 1893).
4. German translation (Der Pfad der Lehre, Neu-Buddhistischen, Verlag, Zehlen dorf west bei Berlin, 1919).
5. English translation by Max Muller, S.B.E., Vol. X.
6. English translation by F. L. Woodward (The Buddha's Path of Virtue, Theosophical Pub. House, Madras, 1929).
7. French translation by Fernand Hu (Paris, 1878), known as Le Dhammapada, avec introduction et notes.
8. Italian translation by P. E. Pavolini (Mailand, 1908).
9. English translation by A. J. Edmunds.
10. ,, ,, by Wagiswara and Saunders.
11. A re-translation from German by " Sīlāchāra " (London).

There is a literal Latin translation of the work by V. Fausböll, who has also edited this text. There is another French translation by R. et M.

De Moratray. Mrs. Rhys Davids has re-edited and translated the Dhammapada in the S.B.B. Series under the title of the "Minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon", Pt. I, 1931.

There is a Chinese translation of this work by S. Beal. Dr. B. M. Barua and Mr. S. N. Mitra have jointly edited the Khroṣṭhi recension of this work which has been published by the University of Calcutta. The work has been translated by many Indian scholars, e.g., Srikhaṇde,[1] Rai Bahadur Sarat Chunder Das, C.I.E., Charu Chandra Bose. There are other copies of the Dhammapada in mixed Sanskrit and Sanskrit, for instance, the Mahāvastu preserves in quotation the sahasravarga of a Dhammapada in mixed Sanskrit. There are two recensions of the Udānavarga, the manuscripts of which have been found out in Eastern Turkisthan in several fragments and a full and critical edition of it prepared by Dr. N. P. Chakravarty is now passing through the press. The latest copy of the Dhammapada, the Dharmasamuccaya, is entirely based on an earlier anthology called Mahāsmrityupasthāna Vaipulya Sūtra and is composed of some 2,600 gāthās. L'Apramādavarga, edited by S. Levi with a valuable study of the recensions of the Dhammapada published in the J.A., t. XX, 1912, deserves mention.

Udāna.

The Udāna[2] or solemn utterances of the Buddha is the third book. It is a treatise containing Buddhist stories and sentences. It is divided into eight vaggas or chapters: (1) Bodhivagga, (2) Mucalindavagga, (3) Nandavagga, (4) Meghiyavagga, (5) Sonatherassavagga, (6) Jaccandhavagga, (7) Cūlavaggo, and (8) Pāṭaligāmiyavaggo.

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[1] The text of the Dhammapada in Devanāgarī with notes, introduction, and translation published by the Oriental Book Supplying Agency, Poona, 1923.

[2] *Vide* Udānavarga translated from the Tibetan Bkah-hgyur with notes and extracts from the commentary of Pradjnāvarman by W. W. Rockhill, London, 1883.

The style of the work is very simple. In this little work, the Buddha is represented as having given vent to his emotions or feelings on various occasions in one or two lines of poetry. These outbursts are concise and of an enigmatic nature. Subtle points of arhatship and the Buddhist ideal of life have also been dealt with. Several suttas (pp. 87, 89, 92, 93) are found in the Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka and the Mahāparinibbāṇa Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka. Each sutta is concluded by an udāna (ecstatic utterance) of the Buddha, composed for the most part in ordinary metres (śloka, Triṣṭubh or Jagatī), seldom in prose as Dr. Paul Steinthal points out in the preface to the Udāna which has been edited by him for the P.T.S., London.

Some knottical points of Buddhism have been discussed in it, e.g., Salvation or deliverance, Nirvāṇa, four unthinkables, life after death, karma, evolution, the cosmos, and heaven and hell.

Dr. Windisch has published an interesting paper, "Notes on the edition of the Udāna" (P.T.S., 1885) in the J.P.T.S., 1930, which is worth perusal. Major-General D. M. Strong has translated this book from Pāli into English. The translation is published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., London. Udāna extracts translated into German by K. E. Neumann in his Buddhistische Anthologie, Leiden, 1892, deserve mention.

Manuscripts available are—

(1) Manuscript of the India Office in Burmese character.

(2) Manuscript presented to the Bible Society by the Thera S. Sonuttara of Kandy in Sinhalese character.

(3) Mandalay manuscript used by Dr. Windisch.

A brief summary of the chapters of the text is given below.

Chapter I—The Enlightenment (*Udāna, P.T.S., pp.* 1–9).—The first chapter deals with some incidents that occurred soon after the enlightenment of the Buddha. The Lord thought out the chain of cause and effect in both the direct and indirect orders. He discussed about the right standard of conduct required of a Brāhmaṇa and the nature of the works he should perform. According to the Buddha the only ideal worth striving after is the ideal of a perfect life, in this present world, in saintship and this ideal is to be reached by emancipation from desire (taṇhā).

Chapter II—Mucalinda (*Udāna, pp.* 10–20).—The second chapter also deals with certain incidents that occurred subsequent to the attainment of Buddhahood. Mucalinda, the serpent king, forms with his hood a great canopy above the head of the Buddha and protects him from great cloud that has appeared. The Master exhorts the bhikkhus that they should not be engaged in trifling disputes, such as, whether the king Bimbisāra of Magadha is the wealthiest or the king Pasenadi of Kosala, etc.

Chapter III—Nanda (*Udāna, pp.* 21–33).—The venerable Nanda, a cousin of the Buddha, intends to abandon the precepts and return to the lower life. The Lord convinces Nanda of the worthlessness of the worldly life and the sorrows connected with it. Nanda finding joy in the state of homelessness does not revert to the worldly life.

Chapter IV—Meghiya (*Udāna, pp.* 34–46).—The venerable Meghiya is the servitor of the Blessed One. Disregarding Buddha's advice he goes to the delightful Grove of Mango-trees on the banks of the Kinnikāla river in order to struggle and strive after 'holiness'. But he is constantly assailed by three kinds of evil thoughts, e.g., lustful thoughts, malicious thoughts, and cruel thoughts. Meghiya comes back to the Buddha. The latter explains why such a state of thing happens to Meghiya.

Chapter V—Sona Thera (*Udāna, pp.* 47–61).—This chapter deals with Pasenadi's visit to the

Buddha, the conversion of the leper Suppabuddha, the admission of the lay-disciple Soṇa Koṭikāṇṇa (afterwards Soṇa Thera) into the higher ranks of the Order, etc.

Chapter VI—Jaccandha (*Udāna, pp.* 62–73).—The Buddha while sitting down on the appointed seat in the Cāpāla shrine gives clear hint of his passing away (that is, attaining Mahāparinibbāṇa) three months hence. But Ānanda fails to understand the meaning of the palpable sign made. This chapter also deals with Pasenadi's visit to the Buddha. The Lord also discusses various heretical views, e.g., the world is eternal or not eternal, the world is finite or infinite, the soul and the body are identical or not identical. He rejects all these false views.

Chapter VII—Cūla (*Udāna, pp.* 74–79).—This chapter deals with various topics. The heart of the venerable dwarf Bhaddiya is set free from attachment and the sins by the manifold religious discourses of the venerable Sāriputta.

Chapter VIII—Pāṭaligāmiya (*Udāna, pp.* 80–93).—The Blessed One instructs and gladdens the bhikkhus with a religious discourse on the subject of Nirvāṇa. The Master after partaking of the food provided by Cunda, the potter's son, is attacked with a severe malady. But the Lord, ever mindful and intent, endures the pains without a murmur. The Lord then goes to Kusīnārā. Once the Lord in company with a number of the brethren arrives at Pāṭaligāma. The lay-disciples of Pāṭaligāma receive the Buddha and the bhikkhus with great honour. The Master points out the five losses to the wrong-doer and five gains to the virtuous man.

Itivuttaka.

The Itivuttaka[1] is the fourth book. The title of the book signifies that it is a book of quotations of the authorita-

[1] Read " A Chinese Collection of Itivuttaka " by K. Watanabe, J.P.T.S., 1906-07; " Collation of the Siamese Edition of the Itivuttaka " by J. H. Moore (J.P.T.S., 1900-01).

tive sayings of the Buddha. It has been published by the Pāli Text Society under the able editorship of E. Windisch. The entire work consists of 112 sections, each is composed partly in prose and partly in verse. Nipātas are subdivided into vaggas or chapters. The contents of the book are supposed to be Buddha's own words which are reported to have been heard and afterwards written down by one of his disciples. The authorship of the book is, however, very uncertain like that of other canonical works. It is an anthology of ethical teachings of the Buddha on a wide range of moral subjects. Passion, anger, pride, lust, and other shortcomings of body, word, and thought, friendliness, charity, virtue, modesty, truth, and several characteristic Buddhist doctrines are dealt with in it. Nirvāṇa, the aggregates, the substrata, previous existence, and supreme enlightenment are discussed in it. The book contains repetitions of phrases and formulas. It is somewhat marred by the frequent use of the indefinite relative clause. The prose style is generally abrupt and inelegant. Occasional metaphors and similes give a pleasing touch to the style. Figures of speech drawn from Nature, from animals and their character, and from man and his relations in daily life, have not been abundantly used. The work is divided into five vaggas and contains 120 short passages which begin with the words, " vuttaṁ hetaṁ Bhagavatā, vuttaṁ arahatā ti me suttaṁ ", " Thus was it said by the Blessed One, the Exalted One—Thus have I heard ", and each bhāṇavāra (chapter) ends with the words " ayampi attho vutto Bhagavatā iti me sutanti ", " This meaning was told by the Blessed One—Thus have I heard ".

Manuscripts available are three Sinhalese manuscripts and four Burmese manuscripts.[1] Dr. Windisch is right in saying that the irregular

[1] See Preface to the Itivuttaka (P.T.S.).

number of syllables is sometimes the result of turning a regular verse into its opposite.

Dr. Moore translated the book for the first time into English with an introduction and note in 1908 included in the Indo-Iranian Series of the Columbia University edited by Dr. William Jackson. A. J. Edmunds is engaged in preparing an English translation of this text. It is one of the shortest of the Buddhist books in size.

In editing the Itivuttaka Dr. Windisch has made use of the following manuscripts :—

(1) Sinhalese manuscripts—

(i) Palm-leaf MS. of the India Office library.
(ii) Paper manuscript in the possession of Prof. Rhys Davids.
(iii) Paper MS. being a present to Dr. Windisch from Donald Ferguson, Ceylon.

(2) Burmese—

(i) Palm-leaf MS. of the India Office library, Phayre collection.
(ii) Palm-leaf MS. of Mandalay collection.
(iii) Palm-leaf MS. of the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris, marked on the cover " A 28—Itivuttaka Pāli, A 29 —Aṭṭhakathā. P. Grimbolt ".
(iv) A second palm-leaf MS. of the Bibliotheque Nationale.

Justin H. Moore published the collection of the Itivuttaka in 1907.

A brief summary of the chapters of the text is given below.

Ekanipāta (*Itivuttaka, P.T.S., pp.* 1–21).—The Lord speaks on evil and good, the evil effects of desire, hate, delusion, anger, hypocrisy, pride, and the merit which accrues to one who keeps himself away from all these evils. He describes thirst as a fetter that causes transmigration. Perfect attention and goodness are characterised as attri-

butes of a novitiate-monk. He speaks of impurity in thought and its consequences and tranquillity of thought and its reward. According to him zeal in good works gains welfare now and in future. He condemns intentional falsehood. He praises charity, especially in giving food.

Dukanipāta (*Itivuttaka, pp.* 22–44).—The Lord speaks of the temptations of senses, and sins of body, word, and thought. He describes sloth and perversity as chief drawbacks to the attainment of supreme enlightenment. According to him a recluse should be cautious and should strive for spiritual power. He describes the various moral qualities of monks and the rewards of a recluse life.

Tikanipāta (*Itivuttaka, pp.* 45–101).—The Lord speaks of how impropriety originates. He describes feelings—pleasant, painful, and indifferent. He says about the taints of lust, existence, and ignorance, and condemns the thirst for lust, existence and non-existence. He describes charity, character, and devotion as essential qualities of virtuous deeds. According to him, knowledge and understanding lead to emancipation, and full comprehension of the Indestructible leads to release and repose. According to him Māra's (the Evil one) weapons are passion, hatred, and delusion, and that transmigration may be avoided by renouncing these evils. He speaks of good and bad actions of body, word, and thought and their respective good and bad effects. He speaks of the impermanence of the body and transitoriness of the substrata. He says that lust, malevolence, and cruelty do not lead to Nirvāṇa. He speaks of the Noble Eightfold Path. He shows the way to escape birth, old age, and death.

Catukkanipāta (*Itivuttaka, pp.* 102–124).—The Lord speaks of the simplicity in the daily life of a faithful follower. According to him he who has the knowledge of miseries and sorrows—the cause of their origin and decay—can easily do away with earthly ties. He describes lust, malevolence, and

cruelty as constant sources of temptation which may even cause the fall of a virtuous man.

Sutta Nipāta.

The Sutta Nipāta [1] is the fifth book. It consists of five vaggas or chapters which are as follows:—(1) Uraga, (2) Cūla, (3) Mahā, (4) Aṭṭhaka, and (5) Pārāyaṇa. The first vagga known as the Uragavagga contains 12 suttas, namely, Uraga, Dhaniya, Khaggavisāṇa, Kasibhāradvāja, Cunda, Parābhava, Vasala, Metta, Hemavata, Āḷavaka, Vijaya, and Muni. The second vagga or the Cūlavagga contains 14 suttas, e.g., Ratana, Āmagandha, Hiri, Mahāmaṅgala, Sūciloma, Dhammacariya, Brāhmaṇadhammika, Nāvā, Kiṁsīla, Uṭṭhāna, Rāhula, Vaṅgīsa, Sammāparibbājaniya, and Dhammika. The third vagga or the Mahāvagga contains 12 suttas, e.g., Pabbajjā, Padhāna, Subhāsita, Sundarikabhāradvāja, Māgha, Sabhiya, Sela, Salla, Vāseṭṭha, Kokāliya, Nālaka, and Dvayatānupassanā. These are long suttas. The fourth vagga or the Aṭṭhakavagga consists of 16 suttas, e.g., Kāma, Guhaṭṭhaka, Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka, Suddhaṭṭhaka, Paramaṭṭhaka, Jarā, Tissametteyya, Pasūra, Māgandiya, Purābheda, Kalahavivāda, Cūḷaviyūha, Mahāviyūha, Tuvaṭaka, Attadaṇḍa, and Sāriputta. The fifth and the last vagga, namely, the Pārāyaṇavagga, contains (1) Vatthugāthā, (2) Ajitamāṇavapucchā, (3) Tissametteyamāṇavapucchā, (4) Puṇṇakamāṇavapucchā, (5) Mettagumāṇavapucchā, (6) Dhotakamāṇavapucchā, (7) Upasīvamāṇavapucchā, (8) Nandamāṇavapucchā, (9) Hemakamāṇavapucchā, (10) Todeyyamāṇavapucchā, (11) Kappamāṇavapucchā, (12) Jatukaṇṇimāṇavapucchā, (13) Bhadrāvudhamāṇavapucchā, (14) Udayamāṇavapucchā, (15) Posālamāṇavapucchā, (16) Mogharājamāṇavapucchā, and (17) Piṅgiyamāṇavapucchā.

The Sutta Nipāta is one of the most important works of the Sutta Piṭaka. It contains information about the social, economical, and religious

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[1] Read Sutta Nipāta in Chinese by M. Anesaki (J.P.T.S., 1906-07).

condition of India at the time of Gautama Buddha. It refers to the six heretical teachers and the Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas. It gives us sufficient aid to the study of Buddhism as an ethical religion. It is, as Dr. Rhys Davids says, "the result rather of communistic than of individual effort". It presents us with the philosophical and ethical teachings of the Buddha and with the ideals of a Buddhist monk. It has references to religious sects like the Samaṇas or the Brāhmaṇas, and certain customs of the Indian people. It is, in the words of Prof. Fausböll, "an important contribution to the right understanding of primitive Buddhism, for we see here a picture not of life in monasteries, but of life of the hermits in its first stage. We have before us not the systematising of the later Buddhist Church but the first germs of a system, the fundamental ideas of which come out with sufficient clearness". The Sutta Nipāta comprises five cantos. The first four cantos contain fifty-four short lyrics while sixteen others cover the fifth one, called the Pārāyaṇa. Out of thirty-eight poems in the first three cantos, six are found in other books of the canon. These poems had existed separately as popular hymns before they were incorporated into the Sutta Nipāta. They appear to be current as proverbs or favourite sayings of the people. The fourth canto is called "The Eights", four of the lyrics in it contain eight stanzas a piece. A reference to this canto as a separate work appears in the Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vinaya Piṭaka, and the Udāna. Rhys Davids holds that this canto must, in earlier times, have been already closely associated in thought with the fifth canto, for the two together are the subject of a curious old commentary, the only work of the kind, included in the nikāyas. That this commentary, the Niddesa, takes no notice of the other three cantos would seem to show that when it was composed, the whole of the five cantos had not yet been brought together into a single book. The fifth canto is called the Pārāyaṇa. It

is quoted or referred to six times as a separate poem in the nikāyas. About one-third of the poems in the collection are of the nature of ballads. They narrate some short incidents, the speeches are in most cases in verses, though the story itself is generally in prose with certain exceptions. They are in this respect like a large number of suttas found in other portions of the canon.

The Pabbajjā, Padhāna, and Nālaka Suttas are specimens of old religious ballad poetry. The language of the book shows that some portions of it are far older than the Dhammapada. The metres are like the Vedic metres of eight syllables (anuṣṭhubh), eleven syllables (triṣṭhubh), or twelve syllables (jagatī). The number of syllables is fixed but the arrangement of long and short syllables is not satisfactory. A combination of Indravajrā and Upendravajrā (208–212, 214–219) or Vaṁśastha and Indravaṁśā (221, 688–90) occurs very often. Mr. Bapat is right in pointing out some stanzas of thirteen syllables as 220, 679-80, 691–98 which appear to be in the style of Atijagatī, but the scanning of the lines discloses that they do not conform to the subdivisions of that class according to the later Gaṇa system. Gaṇa and Mātrā Vrittas are also found in combination. Stanzas in Vaitālīya (33-34, 658-59, 804–813) and Aupacchandasika (1–17, 83–87, 361–73) metres are also found. Stanzas (663–676) in the Kokāliya Sutta illustrate Vegavatī metres with slight variations. Prof. Bapat rightly observes, " There was no inflexible rigidity in the then existing scheme of versification as in the later Sanskrit classical literature of the Kāvyas and Nāṭakas " (Sutta Nipāta, Devanāgrī Ed., Intro., p. xxix). The Pāli Text Society of England under the editorship of Mr. Helmer Smith has brought out an excellent edition of the Sutta Nipāta commentary in Roman character (known as the Paramattha-jotikā), useful and helpful in understanding the text. It is rich in materials for the reconstruction of the history of Ancient India. Its language is simple

and easy to understand. It contains an account of the interesting dialogue between Dhaniya and Buddha, the one rejoicing in his worldly security and the other in his religious belief. It teaches us to avoid family life and corrupted state of society. In it we find the Buddha describing the different kinds of samaṇas to Cunda. There is a dialogue in it between two Yakkhas on the qualities of the Buddha. It contains good definitions of a muni and true friendship. There is an interesting admonition by the Buddha to the bhikkhus to get themselves rid of sinful persons. It teaches men not to be slothful. In it we find the Buddha recommending the life of a recluse. It contains accounts of the conversions of Sabhiya and Sela by the Buddha. There are suttas in the Sutta Nipāta which relate to many venerable theras asking questions to the Buddha, cf. Aitamāṇavapucchā, Tissametteyamāṇavapucchā, Puṇṇakamāṇavapucchā, etc. etc.

Buddhism, an ethical religion from the Sutta Nipāta.

Buddhism is essentially an ethical system, and Nirvāṇa, the goal of Buddhist philosophy, is attained mainly by practising some ethical virtues, and by realising the Four Noble Truths (*Cattāri ariyasaccāni*) and the Law of Causation (paṭiccasamuppāda). The Sutta Nipāta, one of the earliest books of the Pāli Canon, at least seems to interpret the religion mainly from its ethical point of view; for a large number of the more important suttas are mere didactic poems on Buddhist ethics. Thus the *Parābhavasutta* relates the various causes of loss to the losing man, and all these causes are concerned with what one's moral conduct in life should be. The *Nāvāsutta* directs one to cultivate the society of a good man, who is intelligent and learned, and leads a regular moral life with penetration into the Dhamma. In the *Dhammikasutta* the Buddha teaches the Dhamma that destroys sin, and this Dhamma is therein described to consist in the dutiful and faithful performance of some rules of

daily conduct and some moral virtues. Thus a bhikkhu is asked to walk about only at a right time, to subdue his desire for name and form, sound, taste, smell, and touch which intoxicate creatures, to turn his mind away from outward things, and not to utter slander against others. Above all, he should not cling to material things; and should thus be like a waterdrop on a lotus. And similarly a householder too must abide by certain similar moral rules. He must not kill or cause to kill any living being, he must not steal or approve of stealing; he must not speak falsehood, take intoxicating drinks; he must refrain from unchaste sexual intercourse; he must practise the eightfold abstinence and make distribution of charity according to his ability; and, he must also dutifully maintain his parents and practise an honourable trade. And what a life should an ascetic, a muni, lead—the pivot of the Buddhist Church? It is not easy for a householder to lead a perfectly spotless, holy life; so a muni, a bhikkhu should remove himself from all relatives and worldly possessions, and live away from society. He should observe all moral rules of conduct and lead a life of austere simplicity. He should have no dealing in gold and silver, or buying or selling or be subservient to anybody. He should indulge only in moderate food and that only once by day. He should scrupulously observe the rules of Pātimokkha, and be restrained in body, tongue, and mind. This is the keynote of the teachings of Buddhism—'lead a perfectly honest and moral life'; and this is as well the burden of many a sutta of the Sutta Nipāta. The suttas of the Sutta Nipāta record simple rules of moral conduct for bhikkhus and householders as well, and if those rules are observed, Buddhism has scarcely to ask for more. Even the *Padhānasutta* that narrates the conversation between Māra and Gotama is nothing but a poetic representation of the struggle between evil and moral tendencies in man; and the defeat of Māra symbolises one's

victory over covetousness, discontent, hunger, thirst, hankering, laziness, dullness, fear, doubt, love of glory, fame, self-exaltation, slander, sexual and physical pleasures, and hankerings. A number of suttas, as for example, the *Āmagandhasutta*, gives the Buddhist idea of purity and impurity of life; bad mind and wicked deeds defile a man; no outward observances can purify him—this is what Buddhism seeks to teach in direct contrast to the teachings of Brāhmaṇism. There is moreover a very large number of suttas like the *Uraga*, the *Sammāparibbājaniya*, the *Māgandiya*, the *Purābheda*, the *Tuvaṭaka*, the *Attadaṇḍa*, the *Sāriputta*, the *Khaggavisāṇa*, the *Muni*, etc., which set out the ideal of the life of a bhikkhu or a householder. And this ideal, as related above, is nothing but an ideal of a perfectly honest, regular, and moral life. There is nowhere any talk about God or any other supreme deity, nor even of any sort of religious observance, such as worship or the like. Even the philosophical character of Buddhism as related in the Sutta Nipāta is ethical. A bhikkhu should not indulge in the extremes of pleasure and self-mortification, but should follow the middle path. And the three cardinal principles which he is required to realise are that all worldly pleasures are impermanent (anicca), painful (dukkha), and unsubstantial (anatta). Buddhism thus enjoins upon its followers to know the real nature of the world and knowing it, to lead a moral life shaking off all philosophical views whatsoever. This is what is the essence of the Sutta Nipāta; and this essence is nowhere more emphasised than in the Pārāyaṇavagga, the concluding chapter of the Sutta Nipāta. This vagga, as Mr. Bapat rightly points out, is really a 'fitting closure' to the mainly ethical subject-matter of the different vaggas of the important treatise. Here, in almost all the answers to the questions of the sixteen disciples of Bāvarin, the Master tells them "the way to cross the worldly ocean, to destroy thirst and detachment, to cease

all *diṭṭhis*, *sīlas*, and *vatas*, and to attain, in this very world, a state, where one would have no fear from death, and where one would be completely happy; in short, to attain Nibbāṇa, the goal of Buddhist philosophy ".[1]

Traces of Primitive Buddhism in Sutta Nipāta.

The Sutta Nipāta is one of the oldest books of the Pāli Canon, and as such, it contains important traces of Primitive Buddhism, recognisable not only from the language and style of some of the vaggas, but also from its contents.

Buddhism, as understood from the Sutta Nipāta, is not yet an established philosophical system, at best it is an ethical religion. In the Aṭṭhakavagga, the Buddha pronounces himself distinctly against philosophy or diṭṭhi or darśana. In his time, there were in Mid-India a number of philosophical systems, and these systems people considered as religion. It was asserted that purity of life consisted in the attainment of knowledge and of philosophical views, in following traditions and in doing holy works. Buddha stood against this view of a religious life, he discarded all philosophical systems. A religious life, the life of a muni or ascetic, consists, in his view as propounded in the Sutta Nipāta, in shaking off every philosophical theory in being indifferent to learning, in giving up all prejudiced ideas, and in not being a disputant which all followers of philosophical views must invariably be. There is misery, he seems to say, in the philosophical views and in traditional instruction; none is thus saved by philosophy or finds peace in virtuous works. Dhamma in his opinion seems to consist in dutiful and faithful performance of some rules of conduct

[1] Sutta Nipāta by P. V. Bapat, Poona, Intro., p. xxvii. " Another feature ", says Mr. Bapat, " of the same ethical tendency of Buddhism, is found in the unusual fondness displayed—as for instance in the Sabhiyasutta—in interpreting, according to the Buddhist philosophy of ethics, some older brahmanical or other technical terms, like Brāhmaṇa, Samaṇa, Nahātaka, Khettajina, Vedagū, Paribbājaka, Nāga, Paṇḍita, etc."

and some moral virtues, and if they are observed, Buddhism of the Sutta Nipāta would not ask for more. Nevertheless, there are in the Sutta Nipāta the germs of a philosophical system which later on came to be more logically and consistently systematised ; but even this philosophical character, as we have said before, is mainly ethical (see Buddhism : an ethical religion in the Sutta Nipāta). Buddhism of the Sutta Nipāta is thus a very simple Faith mainly consisting in the conscientious performance of some rules of conduct and moral duties and in realising that all worldly pleasures are impermanent (anicca), painful (dukkha), and unsubstantial (anatta). Sutta Nipāta thus represents Buddhism in its primitive stage as a simple ethical religion, and as a repository of germs which later on grew up into a philosophical system.

The primitive character of Buddhism of the Sutta Nipāta is equally evident from the picture of social life contained in it. We gather from the Sutta Nipāta that in those days there were two large religious sects in Northern India, the Brāhmaṇas and the Samaṇas. Both the sects had a good number of teachers with numerous followers and adherents around them. The Samaṇas were divided into four classes, viz. Maggajīnas, Maggadesakas, Maggajivins, and Maggadūsins. Both Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas were followers of different philosophical systems and traditional knowledge. With regard to their various systems and knowledge, disputes arose ; they are thus called disputants, vādasīla. Of such Brāhmaṇas, three classes are mentioned in the Sutta Nipāta, viz. Titthiyas, Ājīvikas, and Niganṭhas. The Brāhmaṇas were well-versed in hymns, principal of which was Sāvitti. They used to worship and make offerings to the fire ; not unoften they killed cows for sacrifice.

Buddha was himself a Samaṇa, but he did not agree with their philosophical systems and traditional knowledge, nor with those of the Brāhmaṇas.

He was also against their view of a religious life and against disputations. He was also against any sort of worship or offering, or any sort of sacrifice, specially those which involved loss of life. According to his view of life, it was not easy or possible for a householder to lead a perfectly spotless, moral life, so he himself became a muni, an ascetic, and asked his followers to become like him a muni, and thus to remove himself from all relatives, worldly possessions, and live away from society. It should be noticed that he did not ask them to come and join any Saṁgha or any such Order. In fact, at that time, of which the Sutta Nipāta presents a picture, no Saṁgha or religious Order had then come to be established. Followers of Buddha's teachings were not too numerous to necessitate the formation of any such Order or monastic establishment. His followers were at that time individual hermits who lived away from society singly by themselves. The idea of a religious fraternity, of a unified religious Order had not then matured. Each in his own way by accepting the teachings of Buddha, by leading a moral life, and by realising the real nature of the world could become a follower of Buddhism without himself belonging to a particular religious Order. The idea of a religious fraternity living within well-defined and strictly regulated monastic life and establishments was a later development; it has but very little trace in the Sutta Nipāta. Fausböll, therefore, rightly points out that we see in the Sutta Nipāta "a picture not of life in monasteries, but of the life of hermits in its first stage. We have before us not the systematising of the later Buddhist Church, but the first germs of a system, the fundamental ideas of which come out with sufficient clearness".[1]

A summary of the vaggas or cantos is given below.

[1] S.B.E., Vol. X, Sutta Nipāta (Fausböll), Intro., p. xii.

I. Uragavagga

Uragasutta (*Sutta Nipāta, P.T.S., pp.* 1–3).—The bhikkhu who discards all human passions—anger, hatred, passion, craving, arrogance, doubts, and desires, he who has not found any essence in the existences, he who has overcome all delusion, he who is free from covetousness and folly, he whose sins are extirpated from the root, he who is free from fear or suffering, is compared to a snake that cast its skin.

Dhaniyasutta (*S.N., pp.* 3–6).—Dhaniya was a rich herdsman who rejoiced in his worldly security of a happy family life, in his large number of milch cows, and in his good sons and wife. He, therefore, entreated the sky to rain if it liked. He one day held an interesting conversation with the Buddha who rejoiced in his religious beliefs, in his pure and virtuous life. He, too, entreated the sky to rain if it pleased. Then at once a shower poured down, and Dhaniya wanted to take refuge in the Buddha endowed with the eye of wisdom, and conquer birth and death, and put an end to pain.

Khaggavisāṇasutta[1] (*S.N., pp.* 6–12).—Family life, friendship, and intercourse with others should be avoided, for society has all vices in its train; one should, therefore, leave the corrupted state of society and lead a solitary life. But if one can get a clever, wise, and righteous companion,

[1] This sutta also occurs in the Mahāvastu, I, pp. 357-358.
"Vaṁso visālo....eko care-pe-" (S.N. pp. 6-7, v. 38), cf. Dhammapada, v. 345.
"Sace labhetha nipakaṁ sahāyaṁ....attamano satīmā" (S.N., p. 8, v. 45), cf. Dhammapada, v. 328.
"No ce labhetha nipakaṁ sahāyam....eko care......" (S.N., p. 8, v. 46), cf. Dhammapada, v. 329.
"Sītañ ca uṇhañ ca......eko care......" (S.N., p. 9, v. 52), cf. Jātaka, I, p. 93.
"Paṭisallāṇaṁ jhānaṁ ariñcamāno......eko care...." (S.N., p. 11, v. 69), cf. Dhammapada, v. 20.
"Rāgañ ca dosañ ca pahāya mohaṁ....eko care......" (S.N., p. 12, v. 74), cf. Dhammapada, v. 20.
"Sabbesu bhūtesu nidhāya daṇḍaṁ....eko care khaggavisāṇakappo" (S.N., p. 6, v. 35), cf. Dhammapada, v. 142.

he may wander about with him, glad and thoughtful. Family life and friendship bring in sensual pleasures; one should, therefore, avoid a wicked companion who teaches what is useless and has gone into what is wrong.

Kasibhāradvājasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 12–16).—A brāhmaṇa, Kasibhāradvāja by name, ploughed, sowed, and worked hard on this field for livelihood. One day seeing Gotama seeking alms from door to door, he reproached him for his idleness. But Gotama convinced him that he too ploughed and sowed, for his faith was the seed, penance the rain, understanding the yoke and plough, modesty the pole, mind the tie, and thoughtfulness the ploughshare and goad. He also convinced him that he too worked hard for carrying him to Nibbāṇa.

Cundasutta[1] (*S.N.*, *pp.* 16–18).—Cunda, a smith, enquired of the Buddha how many kinds of Samaṇas were there. Buddha said that there were four, viz., Maggajinas, Maggadesakas, Maggajivins, and Maggadūsins. The Buddha next explained to him peculiar traits of each particular class.

Parābhavasutta[2] (*S.N.*, *pp.* 18–20).—When the Buddha was at Jetavana, one night a god visited him, and saluting him asked what had been the cause of loss to the losing man. The Buddha told him that he who loved Dhamma was the winner, he who hated it was the loser. To the losing man wicked men were dear and their religion, full of vices and bad deeds, was his religion too. Having taken into consideration all these losses, the wise man, endowed with insight, cultivates the happy world of the gods.

Vasalasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 21–25).—When living in

[1] "Chadanaṁ katvāna......sa maggadūsī" (S.N., p. 17, v. 89), cf. Jātaka, II, p. 281.

[2] This sutta represents the antithesis of the Mahāmaṅgala Sutta. The text of this sutta has been published by Grimbolt in the J.A., t. xviii (1871), translation by Feer in J.A., t. xviii (1871) and by Gogerly, J.A., t. (1872), xx.

the Jetavana, the venerable Gotama one day went out to seek alms to the house of brāhmaṇa Aggikabhāradvāja who reproached the Sage as an outcaste. Buddha told him that he was not an outcaste and explained to him what an outcaste did really mean. "It is not by birth", he said, "that one becomes an outcaste, not by birth does one become a brāhmaṇa, it is by deeds alone that one becomes an outcaste or a brāhmaṇa".

Mettasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 25-26).—A man who seeks to avoid rebirth should be gentle, upright, and conscientious. He must not do anything mean or harmful. He must be contented and unburdened, and should not be arrogant. He should cultivate a boundless mind towards all beings, and good will towards all the world (cf. Khuddakapāṭha, pp. 8-9).

Hemavatasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 27–31).—Two Yakkhas, Sātāgira and Hemavata, with their doubts about the qualities of the venerable Gotama, resolved with the help of each other, went to the venerable Gotama, and enquired of him about the means of deliverance from the snares of death. And the Master explained to them the different stages of a life that was aspirant after becoming the all-knowing, the wise, the great rishis, walking in the noble path.

Āḷavakasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 31–33).—At one time when the Lord was dwelling at Āḷavī, the king of the realm, Yakkha Āḷavaka, came to him and in a threatening attitude asked him some questions as to what in this world was the best property for a man, what conveyed happiness, how could one cross the stream of existence, how could one obtain understanding, and so on and so forth. Buddha with his lucid exposition answered them to the satisfaction of the king, who then became converted.

Vijayasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 34-35).—Very few men see the body as it is. It is full of impurities that flow in nine streams, it is filled with intestines, liver, stomach, abdomen, heart, lungs, kidneys, etc., and the hollow head is full of brain. When dead

nobody cares about it which is eaten by dogs and jackals and other animals. Only a bhikkhu possessed of understanding knows it thoroughly well, sees the body as it is, and reflects on its worthlessness. And, thus consequently he goes to Nibbāṇa (cf. Jātaka, I, p. 146).

Munisutta[1] (*S.N.*, *pp.* 35–38).—Here we find the definition of a muni. A muni is in a houseless state and free from acquaintanceship. He has uprooted his sin, he has no desire, and he has seen the end of birth and destruction. He is free from strife and covetousness, he has overcome everything and knows everything. He is thoughtful and free from passion, and delights in meditation. He is firm, solitary, self-restrained, and is free from sensual enjoyment. Such is a muni who is far above a householder.

II. Cūlavagga

Ratanasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 39–42).—For all beings, whether living in the air or on the earth, whatever wealth there be here or in the other world, or whatever excellent jewel in the heavens, there is nothing equal to the Buddha, there is nothing equal to the Dhamma, there is nothing equal to the Saṁgha. So all beings, desirous of salvation, should take recourse to nothing else than the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṁgha (cf. Khuddakapāṭha, pp. 3–6).

Āmagandhasutta[2] (*S.N.*, *pp.* 42–45).—A brāhmaṇa once accused Kassapa Buddha of having taken food made of rice together with well-prepared flesh

[1] This is the Pāli counterpart of the Munigāthā recommended by Aśoka in his Bhabru Edict.

"Sabbābhibhuṁ sabbaviduṁ sumedhaṁ........taṁ vāpi dhīrā muniṁ vedayanti" (S.N., p. 36, v. 211), cf. Dhammapada, v. 353.

[2] "Na macchamaṁsaṁ nānāsakattaṁ....sodhenti maccaṁ avitiṇṇakaṁkhaṁ" (Sutta Nipāta, p. 44, v. 249), cf. Dhammapada, v. 141.

of birds, and, therefore, of having eaten Āmagandha (what defiles one). But Kassapa Buddha explained to him again and again that eating of flesh was not Āmagandha, or something what defiles one. Bad mind and wicked deeds defile a man; and neither hymns nor oblations, nor sacrifices, nor penances, can purify a mortal of such defilement.

Hirisutta[1] (*S.N.*, *pp.* 45-46).—This is a short dissertation on true friendship. A friend who does not help in time of need is not a real friend; whosoever uses pleasing words to friends without giving effect to them, whosoever looks out for faults in friends, whosoever hopes for fruits and cultivates the energy that produces joy is not a real friend.

Mahāmaṅgalasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 46-47).—When the Buddha was residing in the Jetavana, one night a deity approached him and asked as to what had been the highest blessing. Buddha explained to him in detail that in cultivating the society of wise men, in having done good deeds in a former existence, in waiting upon the superiors, in ceasing and abstaining from sin, in reverence, humility, and in similar virtues and in living religiously, in penance and chastity, and in the realisation of Nibbāṇa, lay the highest blessing (cf. Mangala Sutta, Khuddakapāṭha, p. 3).

Sūcilomasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 47–49).—At one time when the Blessed One was dwelling at Gayā, Sūciloma, a Yakkha, wanted to find out whether the Buddha was really a Samaṇa or Samaṇaka (wretched Samaṇa); and threatened him with a question as to what had been the origin of passion, hatred, disgust, delight, horror, and doubt. Buddha told him that all these had their origin in the body, they originated in desire and arose in self.

Dhammacariyasutta or Kapilasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 49-50).—One who has become a bhikkhu should lead a just life, a religious life; and should not injure others

[1] "Pavivekarasaṁ pītvā........Dhammapītirasaṁ pivan ti" (S.N., p. 46, v. 257), cf. Dhammapada, v. 205.

as well as his own cultivated mind. He must not take delight in quarrelling; otherwise he would go to calamity from womb to womb and afterwards to pain. One who is full of sin is difficult to be purified; so the bhikkhus should always avoid the company of such a person who is dependent on a house having sinful desires and sinful thoughts.

Brāhmaṇadhammikasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 50–55).—At one time when the Buddha was living at the Jetavana-vihāra, some old, decrepit but wealthy brāhmaṇas came to the Buddha and enquired of him the customs of the ancient brāhmaṇas. Buddha described in detail to them the high moral standard of life they used to live; but there was a change in them after gradually seeing king's prosperity and adorned women. The brāhmaṇas thus gradually became covetous, and induced the king to make offerings and sacrifices of animals so that they might gain something. Dhamma thus came to be lost to the brāhmaṇas. The brāhmaṇas were convinced of Buddha's explanations, and were afterwards converted.

Nāvāsutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 55-56).—A man who takes his lessons of Dhamma from a worthy teacher is able to manifest the highest Dhamma. But one who serves a low teacher who is ignorant of Dhamma goes to death. A man who does not understand Dhamma cannot help another to do it; but one, who is accomplished, is easily able to make others endowed with the highest knowledge. One should, therefore, cultivate the society of a learned and intelligent man.

Kiṁsīlasutta[1] (*S.N.*, *pp.* 56-57).—One who aspires after attaining the highest good should not be envious, obstinate, or careless. He should be regular in his studies and religious discourses, and above all he should practise what is good, the Dhamma, self-restraint, and chastity. Dhamma must be his

[1] "Dhammārāmo dhammarato......tacchehi niyyetha subhāsitehi (S.N., p. 57, v. 327), cf. Dhammapada, v. 364.

first and last concern, and he should be free from infatuation. Those who do this come to be established in peace and meditation and go to the essence of learning and understanding.

Uṭṭhānasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 57-58).—This is an advice not to be lukewarm and slothful. For one who is sick, pierced by the arrow of suffering and pain, there is no rest, no sleep. He should rise up and learn steadfastly for the sake of peace, and conquer the desires. He must not be indolent, for indolence is defilement.

Rāhulasutta [1] (*S.N.*, *pp.* 58-59).—Buddha recommended the life of a recluse to Rāhula, and told him to respect the wise man and live with him constantly. He admonished him to turn him away from the pleasures of the world, and enjoined upon him the principles of moderation.

Vaṅgīsasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 59–62).—At one time when the Blessed One was dwelling at Ālavī, Vaṅgīsa came to know the fate of his teacher Nigrodhakappa who had just attained bliss (aciraparinibbuta). He wanted to know whether he had been completely extinguished, or whether he was still with some elements of existence left behind. Buddha told him that his teacher had cut off the craving for name and form in this world, and had crossed completely birth and death, and had, therefore, been completely extinguished.

Sammāparibbājaniyasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 63–66).—This is a dissertation on the right path for a bhikkhu. A bhikkhu who has abandoned the sinful omens, subdued his passions, conquered existence, understood the Dhamma, cast behind him slander, anger and avarice, and liberated from bonds, such a one will wander rightly in the world. He who does not see any essence in the *upadhis* (attachments), is not opposed to anyone in the world, not intoxicated with pride, not subjected to sins and affections, and,

[1] "Mitte bhajassu kalyāṇe....mattaññū hohi bhojane (S.N., p. 58, v. 338), cf. Dhammapada, verses 185 and 375.

above all, ever longs for Nibbāṇa, such a person wanders rightly in the world.

Dhammikasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 66–70).—At one time when the Buddha was dwelling in the Jetavana-vihāra, Dhammika, an upāsaka, came to him, and enquired of him what the life of a bhikkhu and what the life of a householder ought to be. A bhikkhu must not walk about at a wrong time, he must subdue his senses and desires, he must reflect within himself and talk only about the Dhamma and nothing else. A sāvaka or a householder must be a good one, must not kill, and must abstain from greed and theft and falsehood. He should avoid an unchaste life, intoxicating drinks, and should practise abstinence on the eighth, fourteenth, and fifteenth days of the half-month. He should also entertain bhikkhus with food and drink.

III. Mahāvagga

Pabbajjāsutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 72–74).—When Gotama entered Giribbaja in Magadha for alms, Bimbisāra saw him from a distance, and when he made enquiries of him, he came to know through his messengers that the Sage was dwelling in the Pāṇḍava hill. The king then went to the Pāṇḍava hill and tried to tempt him with wealth and wanted to know his birth. Buddha told him that he had been born of the Sākiyas of Kosala, but he had wandered out, not longing for sensual pleasures, seeing misery in them.

Padhānasutta[1] (*S.N.*, *pp.* 74–78).—When the Buddha gave himself to meditation for the sake of acquiring Nibbāṇa, Māra came to tempt him with his eightfold army of lust, discontent, hunger and thirst, craving, sloth, cowardice, doubt, hypocrisy, and stupor. But the Buddha sat firm on his seat, and gave him battle saying, " Woe upon life in this

[1] Cf. Lalitavistara (Lefmann), pp. 267 foll.; Mahāvastu, II, 238 ff.

world, death in battle is better for me than I should live defeated". Eventually Māra was disappointed and obliged to withdraw.

Subhāsitasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 78-79).—This is a short dissertation addressed to the bhikkhus on well-spoken language. The language of a bhikkhu should have four requisites. It should be well-spoken, it should be pleasing, it should be right, and lastly it should be true.

Sundarikabhāradvājasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 79–86).—At one time when the Lord was dwelling on the river Sundarikā, a brāhmaṇa, Sundarikabhāradvāja by name, intent upon making an offering and oblation, came up to him and asked if he was a brāhmaṇa and to whom an offering might well be made. The Lord spoke out to him that it was not by descent that one became worthy of receiving an offering, but by conduct alone. He then explained to the brāhmaṇa in detail the conduct and high moral and intellectual powers of a man worthy of such an honour.

Māghasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 86–91).—At one time when the Lord was dwelling at Rājagaha, Māgha, a young man, and a liberal and bountiful giver, came up to him and asked of those who were worthy of offerings. The Lord then explained to him in detail the conduct and high moral and intellectual powers of a man worthy of such an honour. Asked further he proceeded to speak out to him again of the various kinds of blessings of offerings.

Sabhiyasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 91–102).—Sabhiya, a paribbājaka, went to the six famous teachers of his time to have some questions answered. But they could not clear up his doubts; he then repaired to Gotama and asked him how one is to behave to become a brāhmaṇa, a samaṇa, a nahātaka, a khettajina, a kusala, a paṇḍita, a muni, a vedagū, an anuvidita, a dhīra, an ariya, a paribbājaka, and so forth. The Lord answered all these questions to his satisfaction; and Sabhiya received the and the orders from the Buddha.

Selasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 102–112).—Keṇiya, a Jaṭila, once invited Buddha with his assembly to take his meals with him on the morrow. Sela, a brāhmaṇa, arrived at that place with three hundred young men; seeing the preparation he asked what was going on, and was answered that Buddha was expected the next day. On hearing the word 'Buddha', Sela asked where the Buddha lived, and then went to him, conversed with him, and became converted with his followers.

Sallasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 112–114).—This is a short dissertation which purports to mean that life is short and that all mortals are subject to death, but knowing the terms of the world the wise do not grieve. It means further that those who have left sorrow, will be blessed.

Vāseṭṭhasutta[1] (*S.N.*, *pp.* 115–123).—Once a dispute arose between two young men, Bhāradvāja and Vāseṭṭha, the former contending that a man should be a brāhmaṇa by birth, the latter by deeds. They agreed to go and ask Samaṇa Gotama, who being approached answered that a man was a brāhmaṇa by his deeds only. The two men were then converted.

Kokāliyasutta[2] (*S.N.*, *pp.* 123–131).—Kokāliya, a bhikkhu, once approached Buddha and complained to him about the evil desires of Sāriputta and Moggallāna. On account of this behaviour not worthy of a bhikkhu, he was struck with boils as soon as he had left Buddha, and met with his death. He next went to the Paduma hell, whereupon Buddha describes to the bhikkhus the punishment of back-biters in hell.

[1] "Na cāhaṁ brāhmaṇaṁ brūmi....akiñcanaṁ anādānaṁ taṁ ahaṁ brūmi brāhmaṇaṁ" (S.N., p. 119, v. 620), cf. Dhammapada, v. 396.

[2] "Abhūtavādī nirayaṁ upeti......nihīnakammā manujā parattha" (S.N., p. 127, v. 661), cf. Dhammapada, v. 306.

"Yo appaduṭṭhassa narassa dussati......sukhumo rajo paṭivātaṁ va khitto" (S.N., p. 127, v. 662), cf. Dhammapada, v. 125.

Nālakasutta[1] (*S.N.*, *pp.* 131–139).—The sage Asita, also called Kaṇhasiri, once saw the gods rejoicing and asked the cause of it. He was told that Buddha's birth was the cause. He then descended from the Tusita heaven, and seeing the child, he received it joyfully and prophesied about it. Asita had a sister whose son was Nālaka, to him Buddha explained the highest state of wisdom.

Dvayatānupassanāsutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 139–149).—At one time when the Blessed One was dwelling at Sāvatthī surrounded by the assembly of bhikkhus he made a dissertation on the origin of pain and suffering. All pain in the world, he spoke out, arose from upadhi (substance), avijjā (ignorance), saṁkhāra (confections), viññāna (consciousness), phassa (contact), vedanā (sensation), taṇhā (desire), upādāna (attachment), ārambha (effort), āhāra (food), ingita (sign), nissaya (support), rūpa (form), mosadhamma (theft), and sukha (happiness).

IV. Aṭṭhakavagga

Kāmasutta (*S.N.*, *p.* 151).—Whoever desires to enjoy sensual pleasures, must suffer from pain and sins would overpower him. So sensual pleasures should always be avoided.

Guhaṭṭhakasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 151–153).—A man who adheres to the body and to physical pleasures, and laments to live at the mouth of death is a wretched man, and must suffer from pain. None desirous of deliverance should, therefore, cling to physical existence and sensual pleasures.

Duṭṭhaṭṭhakasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 153-154).—One who praises his own virtue and is dependent upon dogmas of philosophy that change from man to man and sect to sect lives a censured life. But a muni is not censured, for he is calm, and does not praise himself ; for he has shaken off all systems of philosophy and is, therefore, independent.

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[1] "Yathā ahaṁ tathā ete......attānaṁ upamaṁ katvā na haneyya na ghātaye (S.N., p. 137, v. 705), cf. Dhammapada, v. 129.

Suddhaṭṭhakasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 154–156).—Knowledge of the systems of philosophy cannot purify a man; for those devoted to philosophy go from one teacher to another and they are never calm and thoughtful. But the wise who have understood the Dhamma are never led by passion, and do not embrace anything in the world as the highest.

Paramaṭṭhakasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 156–158).—One should not, therefore, give oneself up to philosophical disputations. A brāhmaṇa who does not adopt any system of philosophy, is unchangeable and has, therefore, attained Nirvāṇa.

Jarāsutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 158–160).—From selfishness come grief and avarice. The bhikkhu who has turned away from the world and wanders about houseless, is independent, and does not wish for purification through another.

Tissametteyasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 160-161).—Tissa Metteya once wanted to hear from the Venerable One the defeat of him who is given to sensual intercourse. All sorts of vice, Gotama told him, follow in the train of sensual intercourse which should, therefore, always be avoided.

Pasūrasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 161–163).—Disputants dispute with each other and call each other fools, they wish for praise, but being repulsed they become discontented. But none is purified by dispute, says the Master.

Māgandiyasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 163–166).—This is a dialogue between Māgandiya and Buddha. The former wanted to offer Buddha his daughter for a wife, but Buddha refused her. Māgandiya was of opinion that purity came from philosophy, but Buddha held that it came from 'inward peace'. The muni is a confessor of peace, and he does not dispute.

Purābhedasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 166–168).—This is a dissertation in which Buddha puts forth in detail the conduct and characteristics of a calm muni. He is free from craving, anger, desire, passion, and attachment. He is equable and thoughtful, he is

houseless and has nothing in the world which he may call his own. He is calm and walks always in the path of Dhamma.

Kalahavivādasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 168–171).—This is a dissertation on the origin of contentions and disputes, etc. From dear objects spring up contentions and disputes, from wish originate the dear objects in the world, from pleasure and displeasure springs up wish, from phassa (touch) spring up pleasure and displeasure, and so on and so forth.

Cūḷaviyūhasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 171–174).—This sutta gives a description of disputing philosophers. The different schools of philosophy contradict one another, they proclaim different truths, but the truth is only one. As long as the disputations are going on so long will there be strife in the world.

Mahāviyūhasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 174–178).—Philosophers cannot lead to purity, they only praise themselves and stigmatise others. But a brāhmaṇa has overcome all disputes, and he is indifferent to learning, for he is calm and peaceful.

Tuvaṭakasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 179–182).—A bhikkhu to attain bliss must cut off the root of papañca (sin) and of all cravings; he should learn the Dhamma, and should not seek peace from any other quarter. He should be calm and meditative; and follow other duties of a bhikkhu strictly and faithfully. He must avoid boasting and talking much and indolence and other human vices.

Attadaṇḍasutta (*S.N.*, *pp.* 182–185).—This sutta sets forth the description of an accomplished muni. He should be truthful, undeceitful, sober, and free from avarice and slander. He must not be indolent, nor deviate from truth, nor have any desire for name and form. He should be thoughtful and know the highest wisdom.

Sāriputtasutta[1] (*S.N.*, *pp.* 185–189).—Sāriputta once asked Buddha what a bhikkhu is to devote

[1] "Kaṁ so sikkhaṁ samādāya ekodi nipako sato.........malaṁ attano" (S.N., p. 186, v. 962), cf. Dhammapada, v. 239.

himself to. Thereupon Buddha spoke out to him some principles which he should lead and follow in life. A wise and thoughtful bhikkhu should be afraid of the five dangers, or of adversaries. He should learn to endure cold and heat; he should not commit theft or speak falsehood or fall into the power of anger or arrogance. He should be guided by wisdom and exercise moderation in life, and so on and so forth.

V. Pārāyanavagga

Vatthugāthā[1] (*S.N.*, *pp.* 190–197).—To the brāhmaṇa Bāvarī living on the banks of the Godāvarī in the Assaka territory, came another brāhmaṇa, and asked for five hundred pieces of money. Bāvarī could not, however, comply with his request, upon which the brāhmaṇa cursed him saying, "May thy head on the seventh day hence cleave into seven". A deity then comforted Bāvarī by referring him to the Buddha. Bāvarī then sent his sixteen disciples to the Buddha, and each of them asked him a question to which the All-Wise gave fitting replies.

Ajitamāṇavapucchā[2] (*S.N.*, *pp.* 197-198).—In reply to enquiries made by Ajita, Buddha spoke out to him that the world was shrouded by ignorance, by reason of avarice it did not shine and desire was its pollution; that the dam of desire was thoughtfulness; and that the desire for 'name and form' could only be stopped by the cessation of consciousness.

Tissametteyamāṇavapucchā (*S.N.*, *p.* 199).—In reply to enquiries made by Tissametteya, Buddha spoke out that the bhikkhu who abstained from sensual pleasures, who was free from desire, always thoughtful, happy by reflection, was without

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[1] "Sace ca so pabbajati agārā anagāriyaṁ.... arahā bhavati anuttaro" (S.N., p. 193, v. 1003), cf. Lalitavistara (R. L. Mitra's ed.), pp. 116, 118.

[2] "Kena-ssu nivuto loko......kiṁ su tassa mahabbhayaṁ" (S.N., p. 197, v. 1032), cf. Mahābhārata, III, 17366; XII, 11030.

commotions, he after knowing both ends did not stick in the middle as far as his understanding was concerned; him he called a great man, and he had overcome craving in this world.

Puṇṇakamāṇavapucchā (*S.N.*, *pp.* 199–201).—Questioned by the venerable Puṇṇaka, the Blessed One told him that all sages and men, khattiyas and brāhmaṇas, who offered sacrifices wished something, viz., praise and sensual pleasures, in return did not cross over birth and old age. Only he for whom there is no commotion, who is calm and free, can alone cross over birth and old age.

Mettagūmāṇavapucchā (*S.N.*, *pp.* 201–204).—Asked by Mettagū as to the origin of pain, Buddha told him that upadhi was the cause of pain. Asked next as to how did the wise cross the stream of birth and old age, Buddha told him that it was by knowing the Dhamma and by being thoughtful.

Dhotakamāṇavapucchā (*S.N.*, *pp.* 204-205).—Asked by Dhotaka as to how one could learn his own extinction, Buddha replied that one to learn this should be wise and thoughtful, and learn the best Dhamma. He must not have any doubt and should be calm and independent, above all, he must not have thirst for reiterated existence.

Upasīvamāṇavapucchā (*S.N.*, *pp.* 205–207).—Asked by Upasīva as to the means by which one may attain Nibbāṇa, Buddha replied that having abandoned doubts and sensual pleasures one should reflect on nothingness day and night whereby one can attain Nibbāṇa. He remains there without proceeding further, and he thus delivered from name and body cannot be reckoned any more as existing.

Nandamāṇavapucchā (*S.N.*, *pp.* 207–209).—Not because of any philosophical view, nor of knowledge, any one is called a muni, for purity can come from neither of these. Samaṇas and brāhmaṇas who hold a contrary view and live accordingly in the world cannot cross over birth and old age. But those samaṇas and brāhmaṇas who are free from craving and independent can easily cross over them.

Hemakamāṇavapucchā (*S.N., pp.* 209-210).—In pursuance of a request of Hemaka to know the Dhamma, Buddha told him that the destruction of passion and of desire was the imperishable state of Nibbāṇa. Those who realise this have also understood the Dhamma and are, therefore, calm and thoughtful.

Todeyyamāṇavapucchā (*S.N., pp.* 210-211).—In reply to queries made by Todeyya, Buddha replied, "he in whom there are no lust, no craving, no doubt, for him there is no other deliverance. He is possessed of understanding and knows the Dhamma."

Kappamāṇavapucchā (*S.N., pp.* 211-212).—For those who stand in the middle of a formidable stream, there is a matchless island called Nibbāṇa, which possesses nothing, grasps at nothing, and which is the destroyer of decay and death, so said the Buddha to the venerable Kappa.

Jatukaṇṇimāṇavapucchā (*S.N., pp.* 212-213).—In pursuance of a request made by Jatukaṇṇi, Buddha advised him to subdue greediness for sensual pleasures and for name and form; then there would be no passions by which he might fall into the power of death.

Bhadrāvudhamāṇavapucchā (*S.N., pp.* 213-214).—A bhikkhu must not grasp after anything in all the world, for whatever they grasp after, just by that Māra follows the man, so said Buddha to Bhadrāvudha.

Udayamāṇavapucchā (*S.N., pp.* 214-215).—In pursuance of queries made by Udaya, Buddha spoke out to him that deliverance lay in leaving lust, desire, grief, and sloth, and in the knowing and understanding Dhamma. The world, he continued, was bound by pleasure, and by leaving desire Nibbāṇa could be attained. There was no consciousness for one who was thoughtful and who delighted not in sensation, so concluded the Master.

Posālamāṇavapucchā (*S.N., pp.* 215-216).—Tathāgata who knows all the faces of consciousness, knows also him who stands delivered. Having

understood that the bonds of pleasure did not originate in nothingness, he saw clearly in this matter, knowledge of a perfect accomplished brāhmaṇa, so said Buddha to the venerable Posāla.

Mogharājamāṇavapucchā[1] (*S.N.*, *pp.* 216-217).—Thrice asked by the venerable Mogharājan as to how one would look upon the world to cross over death, Buddha advised him to look upon the world as void, to be always thoughtful, and to reckon himself as not existing. By so doing one could overcome death.

Piṅgiyamāṇavapucchā (*S.N.*, *pp.* 217-218).—Requested by the old and feeble Piṅgiya to let him know how to overcome birth and decay, Buddha advised him to leave the body and desire behind so that he might not have to come to exist again.

Thus Buddha was sought by sixteen brāhmaṇas who were the sixteen disciples of Bāvarī to answer their sixteen questions to which the Master gave fitting and satisfactory replies. All of them having understood the meaning and tenor of each question lived according to the Dhamma, and went to the further shore of decay and death. Piṅgiya, therefore, thought that he would proclaim accordingly the way to the further shore. This he did, and for his faith, he was, by the direction of Buddha, delivered to the further shore of death.

Different editions and translations.

There is a Sinhalese edition of this text by Pannātissa Thera and a Burmese edition published by Zabu Meit Swe Press, Rangoon, is available besides the P.T.S. edition by Andersen and Smith (1913). R. Otto Franke's articles, " Die Sutta-Nipāta Gāthās mit ihren Parallelen " in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Vols. 63, 64, and 66 (1909-1910, 1912) deserve mention and these are now available in a book form. There is a Devanāgarī edition by P. V. Bapat, M.A., Poona, 1924.

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[1] " Suññato lokaṁ avekkhassu Mogharāja sadā sato......na passati " (S.N., p. 217, verse 119), cf. Dhammapada, v. 170.

This text has been translated into English by Fausböll in S.B.E., Vol. X, and this is the earliest English translation. Lord Chalmers has translated it into English in the Harvard Oriental Series.[1] Seidenstücker is translating it in Zeitschrift für Buddhismus, Munich.

Importance of the Sutta Nipāta for the history of the Middle Indo-Aryan languages.

The oldest form of the Aryan language we find in the Ṛgveda. Vedic and classical Sanskrit represent this period, and this stage of the Aryan language is called the Old Indo-Aryan or Old Indo-Aryan stage. The Aryan language in the time of the Buddha represents another stage which is called the Middle Indo-Aryan or Middle Indo-Aryan stage in the line of development. Various Prākrits and Pāli represent this period. There is also a third stage called New Indo-Aryan stage. Various modern vernaculars, such as Oriyā, Bengali, Mahrāṭi, etc., represent this period.

It is maintained by majority of scholars that Pāli is a midland dialect based on an old Middle Indo-Aryan dialect, which may be called an old form of the Śaurasenī language, with elements from other dialects, such as Paiśācī, Gujarātī, and Māgadhī. They are also of opinion that originally the Buddhist Canon was in the S variant of the Prācya or Māgadhī speech and that later on the canon was translated into Pāli and other languages.

Pāli is not a unique speech. Numerous double forms show that it is a language very much mixed indeed. To a large extent apparent dialectical deposits and scholastic formations occur. But in spite of this rather heterogeneous character of the Pāli language, a chronological development, a division of the history of the language in periods, a sort of stratification is clearly seen. We find four strata in the development of Pāli.

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[1] Prof. Lanman was kind enough to send me this English translation in proofs as the book was not then ready. I have found this translation very useful.

(1) The speech of the metrical portions (the gāthās in the canonical literature). This is of a very heterogeneous character. On one hand it retains many old speech forms separated from those of Old Indo-Aryan only through sound change, while on the other there are many standardised forms of Pāli, new formations younger in point of time frequently occurring in the same verse: Pita and raññā are old, developed out of Old Indo-Aryan; Pitussa and rājino are new formations. At times the exigencies of metre have determined the form employed, the choice being between the old form and the new one. When verses in an earlier form of speech, e.g., in the eastern speech of Aśoka were altered into a later one, alteration of the archaic form was usually permitted when no violence was done to metre. Sutta Nipāta is typical of this stratum.

(2) The speech of the canonical prose. It is more uniform and more settled than that of the gāthās. The archaic and dialectical forms are controlled, and in part disappear entirely. The change of archaic forms is no more capricious and random as in the previous stratum. But they are regulated properly by the grammatical rules of a standardised speech. Jātaka is typical of this stratum.

(3) The younger prose of the post-canonical literature as in the Milinda Pañha and in the greater commentaries. It is based on the immediately preceding stratum and displays a scholarly and artistic modification of it. Consequently the distance between the first stratum and the second stratum is greater than that between the second stratum and the third stratum. The third stratum can be distinguished from the second stratum by a greater restriction of the older forms and by a more elegant style. There is apparently the influence of Sanskrit in it to a greater extent.

(4) The speech of the later artistic poetry (cf. the Mahāvaṁsa, the Dīpavaṁsa, the Dāṭhāvaṁsa, etc.). This does not bear any more uniform

character. The authors draw upon their knowledge of language and use forms indiscriminately from the older and newer strata. At times there is an air of archaism, but this is false; and Sanskritism is frequent.

Mr. Fausböll, in his introduction to the Translation of the Sutta Nipāta, has drawn attention to the fact that there are many old Vedic forms of substantives and verbs in the plural, such as, samūhatāse, paccayāse, paṇḍitāse, carāmase, and sikkhissāmase; the shorter Vedic plurals as, vinicchayā lakkhaṇā for vinicchayāni lakkhaṇāni; shorter instrumental singulars as, mantā, pariññā, lābhakamyā for mantāya, pariññāya, and lābhakamyāya; Vedic infinitives as, vippahātave, uṇṇametave, saṁpayātave; contracted forms, such as, santyā, duggaccā, titthiyā, sammuccā; thiyo by the side of protracted forms, such as, ātumānam, suvāmi, suvānā, as well as same archaic forms, as, sagghasi (=sakkhissasi), pāva or pāvā (pavadati), pavecche (=paveseyya), sussaṁ (=suṇissāmi), daṭṭhu (=disvā), paribbasāna (parivasamāno), avocasi, ruppena, uggahāyanti; and some usual words like vyappatha, bhūnahu, paṭiseniyanti, kyāssa, upaya, and avīvadātā. Sometimes forms are contracted for the metre—tad for tadā, janetva for jenetvā, yad for yadā, siñcitva for siñcitvā. Sometimes we meet with difficult and irregular constructions especially in the Aṭṭhakavagga, and sometimes with very ambiguous or condensed words or expressions like diguṇa, ekaguṇa, kuppapaṭiccasanti, saññasañño, visaññasañño, vibhūtasañño, etc.

Vimānavatthu.

The Vimānavatthu is the sixth book. It gives in verse a graphic description of certain celestial abodes enjoyed by the devas for having done meritorious deeds while on earth as human beings. The stories told in it induce listeners to lead a pure life and to do meritorious deeds in order to obtain bliss after death. This work lays much emphasis on individual morality and duty and clearly shows the effect of karma,

good, bad, or indifferent. The highest of pleasures that the heavens bestow has a limit according to the Buddhists. They can never bring about a final release from evil and hence the experiences in heaven, though pleasurable, are evils to be guarded against—the more so on account of their luring attractiveness. Lord Zetland is right in pointing out that the heavens and hells, of which we read so much in the Vimānavatthu and the Petavatthu, may be said to exist for the purpose of providing a more elaborate stage than this earth can do, for the play of the ever revolving cycle of existence and all that it involves. The descriptions of the pleasures of heaven and the sorrows of hells are interesting as showing the nature of the rewards and punishments which in those early days were considered appropriate to particular acts of piety and to particular sins.[1] Rhys Davids says, "The whole set of beliefs exemplified in these books (Petavatthu and Vimānavatthu) is historically interesting as being in all probability the source of a good deal of mediæval Christian belief in heaven and hell. But the greater part of these books, composed according to a set pattern, is devoid of style; and the collection is altogether of an evidently later date than the bulk of the books included in this Appendix".[2]

The Vimānavatthu has been edited by E. R. Gooneratne for the Pāli Text Society, London. It has not yet been translated.[3]

Petavatthu.

The Petavatthu is the seventh book. It contains little poems illustrating belief in the existence of life beyond death, and sufferings after death for having done evil deeds while on earth. In the Southern Buddhist

[1] Foreword to my book, "Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective".

[2] Buddhism, its history and literature (American Lectures), p. 77.

[3] Mr. H. Gehman is preparing an English translation of this text together with that of the Petavatthu for S.B.B.

faith there is hardly any trace anywhere of the worship of a personal being whether an ancestor or a spirit or a deity. The lesson inculcated is a natural concomitant of the Law of Karma which is the central idea of the whole Buddhistic faith. The result of karma cannot be obviated, we must suffer for what we have done. It is a force which must produce its own consequence. A careful study of the Buddhist stories regarding spirits convinces us of the fact that a person is not a seeker after Nirvāṇa nor the intellectual seeker after eternal verities or fundamental realities, but the ordinary everyday individual, the seeker after good things of earth, he who eats, drinks, and multiplies here below and wishes for the plenty of similar enjoyments in the life to follow after death. One great doctrine is dinned into our ears and that is, that charity here on earth, charity with a sincere heart while alive, is the only means of commanding the objects of pleasures after death. If one gives away plenty of food and drink while possessed of the earthly corporeal frame, he will be entitled to enjoy them hereafter. We also learn from the Petavatthu that the needs of the pretas and the pretīs are identical with those of human beings in flesh and blood. They are oppressed with hunger and thirst. The passion of love and desire for companions of the other sex does not leave them ; and it is interesting to note in this connection that a lover in the spirit form whether of male or female sex enjoys fully the company of a comrade of the other sex who is still in the world of the living. It is clear that a preta cannot directly take food, drink or clothing by force or guile or even when voluntarily offered. A hand-to-hand interchange of these things is impossible between a man and a departed spirit. It is only when the gifts are made to a human being and the merits thereof transferred to the spirits that their comforts can reach the Peta and satisfy his needs. This is the fundamental idea of the Buddhist conception of the method of

removing the disabilities and miseries of departed spirits, and this is also the basis of the Hindu conception of Śrāddha. In fact it is one of the established ideas of the Indian mind even from the Vedic days. A close study of the Petavatthu gives us some ideas as to the character of the Petas which appears generally to have undergone a change for the better in their spirit life. Their hunger and thirst, their miseries and sufferings, the bitter experiences for past misconduct seem to have rubbed off their angularities, softened their temper, chastened their mind, and made them realise the truth that charity is the door to enjoyment of comfort in the other world. We hardly find them doing ill to others, they are too much pressed down with the burden of their own miseries to think of or to get any opportunity for doing mischief to others. They are suffering rather than malevolent spirits. The stories in the Petavatthu, though some among them may seem puerile and even absurd, have served to restrain a believer in the words of the Great Master, from straying away from the path of virtue, in his body, or his word or his action and have made him practise charity and ahiṁsā towards all living creatures.

Editions and translations of the Petavatthu.

The Petavatthu has been edited in Roman character by Prof. Minayeff of St. Petersburg for the Pāli Text Society of England. E. Hardy has written a paper on the " Notes for an edition of the Petavatthu " (J.P.T.S., 1904-1905). It has been translated into German by Dr. Stede known as " Die Gespenstergeschichten des Petavatthu ", Leipzig, 1914.

Theragāthā.

The Theragāthā is the eighth book. This book together with the Therīgāthā has been edited in Roman character by Drs. Oldenberg and Pischel for the P.T.S., London. It is a collection of poems, some of which are believed to have been sung by theras during the lifetime of the Buddha, and others shortly after his parinirvāṇa.

These poems are conducive to the understanding of the religious theories and feelings prevalent in the Buddhist Order. The method of the arrangement of these gāthās is what is generally followed in the Buddhist literature, viz., the single verses are placed first, then follow the dyads, triads, etc. The language of this book is not simple and in many places it is difficult to find out the meaning without the help of the commentary.

There are two manuscripts :—

(1) MS. of the India Office (Phayre collection) written in Burmese character.
(2) MS. of the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris (fonds Pali 91), Burmese writing.

The Theragāthā has been translated into English, known as Psalms of the Brethren, by Mrs. Rhys Davids and published by the P.T.S.

Therīgāthā.

The Therīgāthā is the ninth book. It is a collection of verses attributed in the tradition of the Pāli Canon to 73 of the leading Therīs or Sisters in the Order during the lifetime of Gotama himself. " A good many of the verses ascribed to them are beautiful in form, and not a few give evidence of a very high degree of that mental self-culture which played so great a part in the Buddhist ideal of the perfect life." Women of acknowledged culture are represented as being the teachers of men, and as expounding, to less advanced Brethren or Sisters in the Order, the deeper and more subtle points in the Buddhist philosophy of life.[1]

The available manuscripts are :—

(1) The Phayre MS. in the India Office Library, London—Burmese writing—19 leaves, 9 lines.

[1] Rhys Davids, Buddhism—its history and literature (American Lectures), p. 72.

(2) MS. of the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris, fonds Pali, No. 91. 16 leaves, 9 lines. Burmese writing.
(3) MS. with Mr. Subhuti, 12 leaves, 9 lines. Sinhalese writing.
(4) MS. with Mr. Subhuti, 20 leaves, 8 lines. Burmese writing. Dated Sakkarāj 1128.

This work has been translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids known as Psalms of the Sisters, which is very useful. Two interesting papers on "the women leaders of the Buddhist reformation, as illustrated by Dhammapāla's commentary on the Therīgāthā" (Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1893), and "Buddhist Women" by Dr. B. C. Law, published in the Indian Antiquary (March, April, and May, 1928), deserve mention. "Women Under Primitive Buddhism" by Miss I. B. Horner, should also be consulted. There is a Bengali translation of this work by Mr. Bijoy Chandra Majumdar.

Essence of Buddhism involved in the Thera-Therīgāthā.

Mrs. Rhys Davids in her introduction to the Psalms of the Brethren says, regarding the doctrine involved in the Theragāthā, "anicca, dukkha, anatta, the four truths, the Aryan Path, the seven Buddhas, Arahants as no less Buddha and Tathāgata than their Great Master, and so forth : such is the range of the ancient Theravadism of these poems" (Introduction, p. xxii). Our knowledge of the ancient Theravadism is also derived from the Suttantas, the Sutta Nipāta, and the Dhammapada.

It is amply sufficient to say that some parts of the Pāli Canon are later than others, and that the books, as we have them, contain internal evidence from which conclusions may fairly be drawn as to their comparative age. Prof. Rhys Davids in his Buddhist India says, regarding the Sutta Nipāta, that single verses, single poems, and single cantos,

had all been in existence before the work assumed its present shape. He further says that this is very suggestive as to the manner of growth not only of this book, but of the Indian literature of this period. It grew up in schools ; and was the result rather of communistic than of individual effort. What applies to the Sutta Nipāta also applies to the Dhammapada. That many of its verses were current as proverbs or as favourite sayings before they were independently incorporated in the poems in which they are now found, nobody can question. The same is the case with the Theragāthā poems. Though Dr. Winternitz suggests signs of later thought in Khaṇḍa-Sumaṇa's stanza in the Theragāthā, yet the great bulk of the poems is relatively early. This seems probable by both the doctrine and diction of them.

These remarks are sufficient to maintain our contention that the importance of the Theragāthā, the Sutta Nipāta, the Dhammapada, and the Suttantas lies in the fact that these are the main sources for our knowledge of ancient Theravadism. The difference both in doctrine and diction that exists between these works and other works of the Pāli canonical literature enables us to distinguish between ancient and later Theravadism. It is worthy of notice that the idea of 25 Buddhas is a later one. The earlier Pāli books know only of seven Buddhas.

When we turn to the Therīgāthā, the most important thing that strikes us here is the idea of Nibbāṇa as held by the Therīs. In order to give a purview of how the Therīs envisaged their *summum bonum*, we shall deal with Nibbāṇa in its two aspects —negative and positive, as we find in their gāthās.

In its negative aspect Nibbāṇa means the going out of greed, ill-will, and dulness and also freedom from these. It has been also variously described as comfort, end to ill, end of becoming or life, end of craving, and rest.

In its positive aspect Nibbāṇa, as subjectively considered, means mental illumination conceived as

light, insight, state of feeling—happiness, and cool and calm and content (sītibhāva, nibbatā, upasamo, peace and safety, state of will—self-mastery). Nibbāṇa, when objectively considered, means truth, the highest good, a supreme opportunity, a regulated life, communion with the Best, and bringing congenial work.

Jātaka.

The Jātaka is the tenth book. It is widely studied by the students of the history of religion. Professor Fausböll edited the Jātaka for the first time in six volumes and he prepared a volume on Index. The English translation of this work by various scholars under the editorship of Cowell has no doubt made the study of the Jātakas very easy, especially for those who do not know the original language in which the Jātakas were written. Professor Rhys Davids undertook to translate the Jātakas but he was obliged to give it up after the appearance of one volume. It is interesting to note that each story opens with a preface which describes the circumstances in the life of the Buddha which led him to tell the birth story and thus reveal some events in the long series of his previous existences as a Bodhisatta. At the end there is always given a brief summary where the Buddha identifies the different persons in the story in their present births. The stories are very interesting as they throw a flood of light on the social, political, and religious life of the people in ancient India.

The Jātaka was composed in North India in the so-called 'middle country' (Madhyadeśa) (Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 172). It consists of gāthās or stanzas only, and is divided into twenty-two sections (nipātas), which are arranged according to the number of stanzas belonging to or forming a Jātaka. The first section is supposed to contain 150 Jātakas, each verse belongs to a separate story; the second, 100 Jātakas, with two verses each; the third, 50 Jātakas, with three verses each, and so on. Each successive section (nipāta)

contains a larger number of stanzas and a smaller number of Jātakas. These gāthās are in many cases poetic tales or ballads or epic poems. Verses are attached to all the Jātakas. They are, in a few instances, in the framework and not in the stories themselves. The stories without the verses may be said to have preserved the original form of Indian folklore. Some of the stories are noticed also in the Pañcatantra, Kathāsaritsāgara, etc. Some have parallels in the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Purāṇas, and the Jain literature. It would not perhaps be unreasonable to hold that most of the stories were derived from existing folklore of North India (Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, pp. 207-208). The Jātakas are frequently quoted in the later books of the Milinda Pañha. Many Jātakas occur in the Mahāvastu [1] in prose as well as in verse in mixed Sanskrit. Some of them are variants of Pāli Jātakas while others are not found in the Pāli collection.

It would not be out of place to give here gists of some of the Jātaka stories which are remarkable for their variety.

A young man finding a dead mouse sold it. He got some money with which he carried on trade and became rich (Cullakaseṭṭhi Jātaka, Jāt., Vol. I). There were incompetent valuers (Taṇḍulanāli Jātaka, Jāt. I) and there was a strong belief in being seized by an ogre (Devadhamma Jātaka, Vol. I). A king finding a grey hair in his head forsook his family life ((Makhādeva Jātaka, cf. Nimi Jātaka, Vol. I). A king of the deer not only saved his own life but also the life of all creatures at the risk of his own life (Nigrodhamiga Jātaka, Vol. I). A brahmin desiring to give food to the dead was about to sacrifice a goat which showed signs of great joy and of great sorrow. The goat explained the reason for each emotion (Matakabhatta Jātaka). True release does not lie in offering sacrifice (Āyacita-

[1] *Vide* my work, " A Study of the Mahāvastu ", pt. II—Stories.

bhatta Jātaka, Vol. I). There was a pool haunted by ogre (Nalapāna Jātaka, Vol. I). The Kulāvaka Jātaka relates as to how a man through the practice of goodness went to heaven and how his three wives were reborn in heaven as a reward of their doing good deeds. A tree caught fire, the wise birds flew, the foolish ones remained and were burnt to ashes (Sakuna Jātaka, Vol. I). A treasurer gave alms to a Paccekabuddha though Māra tried to prevent him from doing so (Khadiraṅgāra Jātaka, Vol. I). A king put a stop to sacrifices of living creatures (Dummedha Jātaka, Vol. I). The Aṇḍabhūta Jātaka (Vol. I) relates the innate wickedness of women. The Surāpāna Jātaka (Vol. I) deals with the effects of strong drinks on hermits. The Asātarūpa Jātaka (Vol. I) relates how a city was captured by stopping the supply of water and firewood. A slave forging his master's name married a rich wife. The master did not take any revenge but he taught the slave's wife to restrain her husband's arrogance (Kaṭāhaka Jātaka, Vol. I). A wicked prince is reformed by the analogy of poisonous seedling (Ekapaṇṇa Jātaka, Vol. I). Some shipwrecked mariners escaped from a city of goblins by the aid of a flying horse (Valāhassa Jātaka, Vol. II). A king of Benares was most tyrannical. At his death the porter of the royal palace mourned fearing that the king should prove too much for the King of Death and should be sent back again to earth (Mahāpiṅgala Jātaka, Vol. II). Some men won a treasure by digging, but they dug too much and lost it again (Jarudapāna Jātaka, Vol. II). A brave man saved a caravan from robbers (Khurappa Jātaka, Vol. II). A king was taken captive and suffered much at the hands of his enemy, but by his patience and suffering he won over his enemy through repentance (Ekarāja Jātaka, Vol. III). A king killed his own son out of jealousy as his queen showed much affection for the son. The king was punished by being thrown into hell (Culladhammapāla Jātaka, Vol. III). A foolish

mendicant mistook the butting of a ram for a respectful salutation. He met with his death owing to his foolishness (Cammasāṭaka Jātaka, Vol. III). A wicked king cruelly maltreated an ascetic who patiently endured the maltreatment. The king was thrown into hell (Khantivādi Jātaka, Vol. III). Sakka was pleased with an ascetic and offered him boons. The ascetic made a wise choice of boons (Kaṇha Jātaka, Vol. IV). Two princes with their sister went to a forest. They came to know of their father's death. The eldest prince sent his slippers to take his own place on the throne. They were displeased when the news of wrong judgment came to their ears (Dasaratha Jātaka, Vol. IV). Jealous of a holy ascetic, Sakka approached the king of a country and said that the drought from which the land was suffering, was due to the ascetic. The king advised by Sakka sent his daughter to beguile the ascetic. The ascetic fell a victim to the temptation. But the ascetic's father who was away, returned to his son and cautioned him against the wiles of womankind (Naḷinikā Jātaka, Vol. V). A king developed a taste for human flesh. In order to supply himself with favourite food he used to murder his own subjects. His action became known to all and he was driven out of his kingdom. Once he captured a king who had been his friend and teacher. The king was released on condition that he should return as soon as he fulfilled his promise. The king kept his words. The man-eater being pleased with the king desired to give him four boons. At the request of the king the man-eater gave up cannibalism (Mahāsutasoma Jātaka, Vol. V). A king questioned an ascetic as to the various moral duties. He himself indulged in pleasures but his daughter was virtuous. She tried to save him from heretical beliefs. At last the Buddha converted him (Mahānārada Kassapa Jātaka, Vol. VI). Four kings including Sakka disputed as to who was the most virtuous. For the solution they came to a wise man who decided that they were all equal. The

wife of the Nāga king desired the heart of that wise man. The Nāga king sent a yakkha to kill the wise man who won over the yakkha to his side (Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka, Vol. VI).

The gists of some of the Jātakas given above may lead one to believe that the Jātakas are but amusing tales, having no serious lessons to impart. But the fact is otherwise. A careful perusal of the Jātaka stories will not fail to convince a thoughtful reader that these stories have various purposes to serve.

Origin and purpose of the Jātakas.

We read in the Saddharmapuṇḍarika, V (S.B.E., xxi, 1884, 120), that the Buddha knowing the differences in faculties and energy of his numerous hearers, preaches in many different ways, tells many tales, amusing, agreeable, both instructive and pleasant, tales by means of which all beings not only become pleased with the law in this present life, but also after death will reach happy states; and in the same book it is stated (ii. 44, S.B.E., xxi. 44 f.) that the Buddha teaches both by sūtras and stanzas and by legends and Jātakas. It is, indeed, likely enough that Gautama Buddha himself made use of popular tales in preaching to the people. It is certain that the Buddhist monks and preachers did so. In his numerous existences before he came to be born as Śākyamuni who was to be the Buddha, the Bodhisattva had been born according to his karma, sometimes as a god, sometimes as a king, or a merchant, or a nobleman, or an outcaste, or an elephant, or some other man or animal. It was thus only necessary to identify the hero or any other character of a story with the Bodhisattva in order to turn any tale, however secular or even frivolous, into a Jātaka. Some of the stories which were afterwards turned into Jātakas are told in the suttas as simple tales, without any reference to the Bodhisattva (cf. Cullavagga, vi. 3, with the Tittira Jātaka, No. 37; or Mahāvagga, x. 2, 3, with the Dīghiti Kosala Jātaka, No. 371). On the other hand

there are some real Jātakas included in the suttas—e.g., the Kūṭadanta Sutta and Mahāsudassana Sutta in the Dīgha Nikāya. That the Jātakas form an essential part of the Buddhist Canon is shown by the fact that they are included in the list of nine aṅgas (twelve Dharmapravacanas in the Sanskrit Buddhist Canon) into which the Sacred Books of the Buddhists were divided according to the subject-matter as the seventh aṅga (the ninth Dharmapravacana).[1] The Jātakas preserve an invaluable record of the history of Indian literature.

Jātakas and popular Buddhism.

The Jātakas are highly important for the history of Buddhism, as they give us an insight into popular Buddhism. The whole system of Jātakas is based on the most popular dogma of Karma, and the ethical ideal of this religion is not the Arhat who has attained to Nirvāṇa, but the Bodhisattva who in all his former existences has shown one or more of the great virtues by which he prepared himself for becoming the future Buddha. However, high or low he may have been born, in every Jātaka he is either helpful, kind, and self-sacrificing or brave, clever and even possessing supernatural wisdom. Jātakas like those of king Sivi (No. 499), who gave away his eyes as a gift, or of prince Vessantara (No. 547), who even gave away his children as a gift to a wicked brāhmaṇa, are standard texts for this ideal of ethics. It may easily be understood how the theory of the pāramitās which has become important in the Mahāyāna Buddhism, though not mentioned in the Jātaka gāthās, but only in the Buddhavaṁsa, Cariyāpiṭaka, and the Jātaka Commentary, was already latent in the Jātaka theory. It is no wonder that the Jātakas belong as much to the Mahāyāna as to the Hinayāna Buddhism. They are indeed the common property of all Buddhist sects in all Buddhist

[1] *Vide* Dr. Winternitz's article "The Jātaka" in Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VII, pp. 491 ff.

countries. They were the chief vehicle of Buddhist propaganda and are the chief witnesses of popular Buddhism.[1] Rhys Davids[2] says, "Our existing Jātaka book is only a partial record. It does not contain all the Jātakas that were current, in the earliest period of their literature, among the Buddhist community. I venture to suggest that the character of ten earlier Jātakas, in their pre-Jātaka shape, enables us to trace their history back beyond the Buddhist literature altogether. None of them are specially Buddhist. They are modified, perhaps more or less to suit Buddhist Ethics. But even the Mahāsudassana, which is the most so, is in the main simply an ancient Indian legend of sun worship. And the rest are pre-Buddhistic Indian folklore. There is nothing peculiarly Buddhist about them. Even the ethics they inculcate are Indian. What is Buddhist about them, in this their oldest shape, is only the selection made. There was, of course, much other folklore, bound up with superstition. This is left out. And the ethic is, of course, of a very simple kind. It is milk for babes. This comes out clearly in the legend of the Great King of Glory—the Mahāsudassana. In its later Jātaka form it lays stress on the impermanence of all earthly things, on the old lesson of the vanity of the world. In its older form, as a suttanta, it lays stress also on the ecstasies (the Jhānas), which are perhaps pre-Buddhistic and on the sublime conditions (the Brahma-Vihāras) which are certainly distinctively Buddhistic. These are much deeper and more difficult matters."

"So much for the earliest forms in which we find the Jātakas. The next evidence in point of date is that of the bas-reliefs on the Bhārhut and Sāñchi Stūpas—those invaluable records of ancient Indian archæology. Among the carvings on the railings round these stūpas are a number of scenes,

[1] *Vide* Dr. Winternitz's article, "The Jātaka" in Hastings' Encyclopædia of R. and E., p. 494, Vol. VII.

[2] Buddhist India, pp. 196–198.

each bearing as a title in characters of the third century B.C. the name of a Jātaka; and also other scenes without a title but similar in character. Twenty-seven of the scenes have been recognised as illustrating passages in the existing Jātaka Book. Twenty-three are still unidentified, and some of these latter are meant, no doubt, to illustrate Jātaka stories current in the community, but not included in the canonical collection." The very fact that the Jātaka stories served as favourite topics for sculptures and paintings through all the centuries in all Buddhist countries, goes to show the immense popularity of the Jātakas which are found in India in Bhārhut, Sāñchi, and Bodh-Gayā in the third or second century B.C., in Amarāvatī in the second century A.D., and later on in the caves of Ajantā. Hundreds of bas-reliefs representing scenes from Jātakas are found decorating the famous temples of Boro-Budur in Jāvā (ninth century A.D.) mostly based on legends in the Lalitavistara, of Pagan in Burma (thirteenth century A.D.), and of Sukhadaya in Siam (fourteenth century A.D.).[1]

According to Professor Rhys Davids, the edition of the Jātakas by Fausböll is an edition of the commentary written probably in the fifth century A.D. by an unknown author who, as Childers thinks, was Buddhaghosa (Buddhist India, pp. 200-201). Whether this commentary was actually written by Buddhaghosa or not, the numerous Jātakas quoted or narrated by Buddhaghosa in his commentaries show a close agreement with the commentary edited by Fausböll.

Dr. Fick says that so far as the verses and the prose portions of the stories are concerned, as distinct from the framework, they have been scarcely altered from the original state (Dr. Fick, Sociale Gliederung im nordöstlichen Indian Zu Buddha's Zeit, pp. vi and vii).

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[1] Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VII, p. 494.

Hofrath Bühler points out that the Jātakas make no mention of the Nandas and Mauryas.

The state of civilisation described in the Jātakas is no doubt very ancient in many respects. The Jātakas describe the palaces of kings as built of wood. They are full of materials which help us a great deal in reconstructing the history of ancient India, but we should be cautious in accepting them wholesale as historical evidences.

Prof. Rhys Davids holds that whole of the longer stories, some of them as long as a modern novellete, contained in Vol. VI of the edition, are later, both in language and in their view of social conditions in India than those in the earlier volumes. Yet several of those latest in the collection are shown by the bas-reliefs to have been already in existence in the third century B.C. And this holds good, not only of the verses, but also of the prose, for the bas-reliefs refer to the prose portions of the tales (see in the Appendix under Vidhura, Sama, Ummagga, and Vessantara Jātakas).

It is possible to conclude, says Rhys Davids, that some of the tales, when they were first adopted into the Buddhist tradition, were already old. We have seen above that out of those tales of which we can trace the pre-Jātaka book form, a large proportion, 60 to 70 per cent., had no verses. Now in the present collection, we do not find verses in the majority of tales. And there are other tales, where the verses do not occur in the story itself, but are put like a chorus, into the mouth of a fairy (devatā) who has really nothing else to do with the story. It follows that these stories existed, without the verses, before they were adopted into the Buddhist scheme of Jātakas by having verses added to them, and they are therefore probably not only pre-Buddhistic but very old.

Dr. Rhys Davids further adds that the custom on which the Jātaka system is based of handing down tales or legends in prose, with the conversation in verse is itself pre-Buddhistic. And the Jātaka

Book is only another example of that pre-epic form of literature of which there are many shorter specimens preserved in the earlier books of the canon (Buddhist India, pp. 205-206).

Literature on the Jātakas.

The Jātaka has been translated from Pāli into English by various hands under the editorship of E. B. Cowell in six vols. Etude Sur les Jātakas Par Leon Fur, Paris, 1875 (reprinted from Journal Asiatique, 1875); Nine Jātakas by L. H. Elwell, Boston, 1886; Lineage of the proud King by Robert Chalmers, J.R.A.S., 1892; Serge D'Oldenberg "On the Buddhist Jātakas" by H. Wenzel, J.R.A.S., 1893 (a valuable paper in which three tables of parallels are given. The Jātakas and the Jain parallels and the Jātakas in the Mahāvastu are also discussed in it); Notes on the Buddhist bas-reliefs by Oldenberg, J.R.A.S., 1896; Index to the Jātakas by Rouse, J.P.T.S., 1890.

M. Winternitz—Die Jātakas in ihrer Bedentung für die Geschichte der indischen und ausserindischen Literatur und Kunst., Berlin, 1913.

Keilhorn—The Jātakas and Sanskrit Grammarians, J.R.A.S., 1898.

Dr. M. Gester—The Nigrodha-Mjga-Jātaka and the Life of St. Eustathins Placidus, J.R.A.S., 1894.

T. W. Rhys Davids—"The Last to go forth", J.R.A.S 1891. (This paper contains some curious passages from the Jātakas. Rhys Davids attempts to make the meanings of these passages clearer.)

H. T. Francis and E. J. Thomas—Jātaka Tales.

Stories of the Buddha by Mrs. Rhys Davids, D.Litt., M.A. (The Treasure House of Eastern Story under the editorship of Sir E. D. Ross.)

Buddhist Birth-stories (Jātaka Tales) by T. W. Rhys Davids and revised by Mrs. Rhys Davids, with notes and Index. (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd.)

Tripiṭaka—Edition of Buddhist Jātakas and Avadāna (12 vols.).

N. B. Utgikar—Some points of contact between the Mahābhārata and the Jātakas—J.B.B.R.As.,

Vol. IV, Nos. 1 and 2. Story of the Dasaratha Jātaka and of the Rāmāyaṇa by the same author (J.R.A.S., centenary supplement, pp. 203 foll.). The Bengali translation of the Jātakas by Rai Shaheb Ishanchunder Ghosh deserves mention.

Notes on five Bharaut Epithets by B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Litt. Identification of four Jātakas at Bharaut by Dr. B. M. Barua.

Niddesa.

The eleventh and the twelfth books are styled the Mahāniddesa and the Cullaniddesa. They contain "a detailed explanation by Sāriputta of 33 sūtras belonging to the last two vaggas of Sutta Nipāta, from Kāmasutta to Khaggavisāṇa Sutta". The P.T.S., London, has published an edition of the Mahāniddesa in Roman character under the able editorship of L. De La Vallee Poussin and E. J. Thomas.

The P.T.S. edition of the Mahāniddesa is based upon three MSS. : (1) King of Siam's printed edition of the Tripiṭaka, (2) Phayre MS. in the British Museum, and (3) A Sinhalese MS. The P.T.S. edition of the Cullaniddesa is based on (1) Palm-leaf MS. in Sinhalese character, (2) Palm-leaf MS. in Burmese character, and (3) the Cullaniddesa in the printed Siamese Tripiṭaka, Vol. XXVII.

It is a sort of word-for-word comment or gloss on the Aṭṭhakavagga of the Sutta Nipāta. The Aṭṭhakavagga consists of ten sections while the Sutta Nipāta is divided into 16 sections.

The Cullaniddesa deals in the first place with all the sections of the Pārāyaṇavagga of the Sutta Nipāta and in the second place with the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta of the Uragavagga of the Sutta Nipāta. In the Uragavagga there are altogether twelve suttas, of which the only one, the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta, has been dealt with in the Cullaniddesa.

Dr. Stede, who has edited the Cullaniddesa for the P.T.S., writes in the introduction to the Cullaniddesa that the Niddesa or Exposition consists chiefly in the interpretation of each word. This interpretation is repeated at every place where the

word is found in the text, and is literally the same all through. Very seldom a paraphrase of a sentence or part of a sentence is given, and in some cases a quotation from Canonical Books ("Vuttam h'etam Bhagavatā") takes the place of an explanation; but the rule is, that, once the words are made clear, the stanza is "exposed" (Introduction, p. xxii).

We give below interpretations of some words from the Niddesa:

Muni.—The term muni is applied by the Buddha to any man attaining perfection in self-restraint and insight. In the Niddesa (I, p. 57), we find several schedules of muni-qualities, especially based on the threefold division of character as revealed in action (kāya), speech (vaci), and thought (mano). Just as these three are in general exhibited in good or bad ways of living (sucaritaṁ and duccaritaṁ), they are applied to a deeper quality of saintship in kāya-moneyya, vaci-moneyya, and mano-moneyya; or muni-hood in action, speech, and thought. The Niddesa (I, p. 58) also gives a division of six munis—agāra-muni, anāgāra (bhikkhus), sekha (learners), asekha (arahants), pacceka (the Pacceka-Buddhas), and muni (the Tathāgatas).

Kāma.—The Niddesa (I, pp. 1-2) distinguishes between two kinds of Kāmas: (1) Vatthukāma—desires relating to a base, i.e., physical organ or external object (e.g., rūpā, saddā, gandhā, rasā, etc.), and (2) Kilesakāmā—desire considered subjectively [e.g., chando (desire), rago (passion), saṃkappo (determination), etc.].

Sikkhā.—According to the Niddesa (I, pp. 39-40) there are tisso sikkhā: (1) adhisīla sikkhā including Khuddaka sīlakkhandho and Mahanto sīlakkhandho (ten precepts, etc.), (2) adhicittasikkhā including the four jhānas, and (3) adhipaññāsikkhā including dukkha, dukkha-samudaya, dukkha-nirodha, dukkha-nirodhagāminipaṭipadā.

Bhikkhu (*Niddesa, I, p.* 70).—He is called the bhikkhu who has freed himself from the seven evil qualities, e.g., sakkāyadiṭṭhi (speculation as to the

eternity or otherwise of one's own individuality), vicikicchā (doubt), sīlabbata-parāmāso (the contagion of mere rule and ritual), rāgo (passion), doso (malice), moho (delusion), and māno (pride).

Dhono (*Niddesa, I, p.* 77).—It means paññā or wisdom.

Ogha (*Niddesa, I, p.* 159).—There are four kinds of oghas (oceans of evils), e.g., kāma (desire), bhava[1] (becoming), diṭṭhi (wrong views), and avijjā (ignorance).

Kusalā (*Niddesa, I, p.* 171).—Kusalā (skilful) means khandha-kusalā (constituent element), Dhatu (element), Āyatana (element of sense-perception), Paṭiccasamuppāda (dependent origination), Satipaṭṭhāna (application of mindfulness), Sammappadhāna (right exertion), Iddhipāda (bases of iddhi or miracle), Indriya (sense-organs), Bala (powers), Bojjhaṅga (elements of knowledge), Magga (path), Phala (fruition), and Nibbāṇa (salvation).

Gāmakathā (*Niddesa, I, p.* 367).—It contains gossips about kings, thieves, soldiers, battles, drinking, vehicles, relatives, women, etc.

Loka (*Niddesa, I, p.* 409).—Various world-systems are described :—

Niraya loka (hell).
Tiracchānayoniloko (realm of the brute creation).
Pittivisaya (the realm of the departed spirits).
Manussa.
Deva.
Khandha (the world of sensory aggregates).
Dhātu (ten dhātu lokas).
Āyatana (sphere).
Ayam loko (this world).

[1] According to the P.T.S. Dictionary, Bhava means becoming, (form of) rebirth, (state of) existence, a life. For a discussion on this subject, see Mrs. Rhys Davids' *A Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 121-122. If we take the root meaning, it is "becoming". R. C. Childers translates "bhava" as "existence, birth, origin". The difference between 'existence' and 'becoming' is very slight. We, however, consider the view of Mrs. Rhys Davids to be sound.

Paro loko (the next world).
Sabrahmaloko (the world of Brahmā).
Sadevaloka (the world of gods).

Ejā (*Niddesa, I, p.* 441).—It means taṇhā (desire).

Ganthāni (*Niddesa, I, p.* 329).—There are four kinds of bonds, usually called the four bodily ties (kāyaganṭho): abhijjhā—covetousness, byāpādo—malevolence, sīlabbataparāmāso—the contagion of mere rule and ritual; idaṃsaccābhinivesa—inclination to say: only this is the truth, i.e., inclination to dogmatise.

Pubbāsava (*Niddesa, I, p.* 331).—Past rūpaṁ (material qualities), Vedanā (feeling), Saññā (Perception), Saṃkhārā (coefficients of consciousness), Viññānaṃ (consciousness).

Vivaṭa Cakkhu (*Niddesa, I, p.* 354) means 'open-minded', 'clear-sighted'. The five kinds of the sense of sight are: Maṃsa Cakkhu (bodily eye), Dibba Cakkhu (divine eye), Paññā Cakkhu (the eye of wisdom), Buddha Cakkhu (the eye of a Buddha), and Samanta Cakkhu (all seeing).

Parissaya (*Niddesa, I, pp.* 360-361) means danger, risk or trouble. The Parissayas are of two kinds: (1) Pākaṭa—external danger from lion, tiger, and other ferocious beasts and also from various diseases, such as cholera, leprosy, etc., (2) Paṭicchanna—internal danger from anger, hatred, delusion, desire, and so forth.

Kaṇha (*Niddesa, I, p.* 489).—Māra, the evil one, is also called Kaṇho and Namuci.

The Mahāniddesa (or the Niddesa I) also contains references to many miscellaneous matters. *Cattāro dāsā* (four kinds of slaves)—antojātako dāso, dhanakkitako dāso, sāmaṃ vā dāsavisayaṃ upeti, akāmako vā dāsavisayam upeti: born slave, bought by money, himself becomes a slave, out of fear (bhayā) one becomes a slave (Niddesa, I, p. 11).

Cattāro bandhū (four kinds of friends)—ñātibandhavā, gottabandhavā, mantabandhavā, sippabandhavā (Niddesa, I, p. 11).

Naro classification—Khattiyo, Brāhmano, Vesso, Suddo, Gahaṭṭho (householder), Pabbjito (monk), Devo, Manusso (Niddesa, I, p. 11).

Various diseases (Niddesa, I, p. 13)—Cakkhurogo (disease of sight), Sotarogo (disease of hearing), Ghānarogo (disease of smelling), Jivhārogo (disease of taste), Kāyarogo (disease of body), Sīsarogo (disease of head), Kaṇṇarogo (disease of ear), Mukharogo (disease of mouth), Dantarogo (disease of teeth), Kāso (cough), Sāso (asthma), Pināso (cold in the head), Ḍāho (burning), Jaro (old age disease), Kucchirogo (abdominal trouble), Mucchā (fainting), Pakkhandikā (diarrhœa), Sūlā (acute pain), Visūcikā (cholera), Kuṭṭham (leprosy), Gaṇḍo (boil), Kilāso (a cutaneous disease, perhaps leprosy), Soso (consumption), Apamāro (Epilepsy), Daddu (ringworm), Kaṇḍu (itches), Kacchu (itches), Rakhasā, Vitacchikā (scabies), Lohitapittam (the bile with blood), Madhumeho (diabetes), Aṃsa, Piḷakā (boil), Bhagandalā (Fistula), Pittasamuṭṭhāna (rising of bile), Semhasamuṭṭhāna (rising of phlegm), Vātasamuṭṭhāna (wind disease), Sannipātikā (disease resulting from the union of the humours of the body), Utuparināmajā ābādhā (change of the season as cause of disease), Visamaparihārajā ābādhā (diseases resulting from miscarriage).

Various doctrines.—The Mahāniddesa deals with various doctrines which the Buddha condemns as fruitless (Niddesa, I, p. 64): Sassatoloko, Asassatoloka (eternal or non-eternal), Antavā loko, Anantavā loko (finite or infinite), tam jīvaṁ taṁ sarīraṁ, aññaṁ jīvaṁ aññaṁ sarīraṁ (identity of soul and body or non-identity of the same).

Various religious beliefs (Niddesa, I, p. 89).—Some Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas are the worshippers of elephants, horses, cows, dogs, crows, fire, serpent, goblin, demon, sun, moon, Inda, Brahma, gods Krishṇa and Balarāma, four directions, a kind of fairy bird and Punnabhaddha, perhaps a Yakkha (Hatthivattikā, Assavattikā, Govattikā, Kukkura-vattikā, Kākavattikā, Vāsudevavattikā, Baladeva-

vattikā, Puṇṇabhaddavattikā, Aggivattikā, Nāgavattikā, Maṇibhaddavattikā, Supaṇṇavattikā, Yakkhavattikā, Asuravattikā, Gandhabba, Mahārāja, Canda, Suriya, Inda, Brahma, Devavattikā, Disavattikā).

Paṭisambhidāmagga.

The Paṭisambhidāmagga is the thirteenth book. It consists of three vaggas or chapters, e.g., Mahāvaggo, Yuganandhavaggo, and Paññāvaggo. Each of the vaggas, again, contains ten topics (kathā), e.g., Ñānakathā, Yuganandhakathā, Mahāpaññākathā, etc.

It may be noted here that the first volume of the Paṭisambhidāmagga deals only with the three out of the ten topics of the Mahāvagga. This volume begins with the mātikā which gives the contents, not of the whole work (i.e., Paṭisambhidāmagga, Vol. I), but of the Ñānakathā only, the opening chapter of the Vinaya Mahāvagga.

In the second volume of the Paṭisambhidāmagga there is no mātikā (a table of contents) at all.

I. *Mahāvagga* (*Paṭisambhidāmagga, II, pp.* 1–91).—It deals with ñāna or knowledge of the impermanence and sorrowfulness of the confections, of the four Aryan truths, of the chain of causation (dependent origination), of the four stages or bhūmiyo-kāmāvacaro (realm of lust)—rūpāvacaro (world of form)—arūpāvacaro (incorporeal world)—Apariyāpanno (all that are not determined by this cycle), of the miracle of the double appearances consisting in the appearance of phenomena of opposite character in pairs, as for example, streaming forth of fire and water, of omniscience of the Buddha; with diṭṭhi or false views, e.g. holding the world to be eternal or non-eternal and finite or infinite, believer in fortuitous origin and in complete annihilation at death, etc.; with five indriyas—saddhā (faith), viriya (energy), sati (recollection), samādhi (concentration), paññā (reason); with the three vimokkhas—suññato (devoid of soul, ego), animitto (the signless), appaṇihito (the desireless); with

kamma (action or deed) and kammavipāka (the results of action), kusala kamma and akusala kamma (good and bad actions) and their results; with vipallāsa or perversion of saññā (perception)—of citta (thought)—of diṭṭhi (views)—perceiving wrongly anicca, dukkha, anattāni, and asukha as nicca, sukha, atta, and subha respectively, with magga or the stage of righteousness, with reference to the various conditions of arahantship divided into four stages—Sotāpatti (the stage of entering the stream of salvation), Sakadāgāmī (that of returning once), Anāgāmī (that of the never-returner), and Arahatta (that of saintship).

II. *Yuganandhavagga* (*Paṭisambhidāmagga, II, pp.* 92–184).—It deals with sacca or the four Aryan truths, e.g. dukkha, dukkhasamudaya, dukkhanirodha, and dukkhanirodhagāminipaṭipadā (suffering, its origin, its cessation, and the path leading to its cessation); with bojjhaṅgas or constituents of supreme knowledge, e.g. sati (mindfulness), dhammavicaya (investigation of the law), viriya (energy), pīti (rapture), passaddhi (repose), samādhi (concentration), upekkhā (equanimity); with lokuttarā dhammā, e.g., the four satipaṭṭhānas (referring to the body or kāya, the sensations or vedanā, the mind or citta, and phenomena or dhammā); the four right exertions (exertions to put away the evil dhamma which has not arisen from arising, exertions to put away the evil dhamma which has arisen, exertions to help the growth of the good dhamma which has not arisen and exertions to keep up the good dhamma which has arisen); the four bases of iddhi or miracle (making determination in respect of concentration on purpose, on will, on thoughts, and on investigation); the four indriyas or controlling faculties (saddhā or faith, viriya or energy, sati or recollection, samādhi or concentration, paññā or reason); the five powers (saddhā, viriya, sati, samādhi, and paññā—they represent the intensification of the corresponding five indriyas); the seven constituents of supreme knowledge (satta bojjhaṅgā), the noble

eightfold path (sammādiṭṭhi or right views, sammāsaṁkappo or right resolve, sammāvācā or right speech, sammākammato or right action, sammāājīva or right living, sammāvāyāmo or right exertion, sammāsati or right recollection, sammā samādhi or right concentration); four fruits of the life of the recluse and nibbāna (final deliberation). This chapter also deals with the sixty-eight kinds of balas or potentialities.

III. *Paññāvagga* (*Paṭisambhidāmagga, II, pp.* 185–246).—It deals with cariyā or conduct. There are eight cariyās: iriyāpatha (four postures—walking, standing, sitting, lying down), āyatana [spheres of sense—cakkhu (rūpa), sota (sadda), ghāna (gandha), jivhā (rasa), kāya (phoṭṭhabba), mano (dhammā)], sati (application of mindfulness referring to body, sensation, mind, phenomena), samādhi (four stages of jhānas—paṭhamo, dutiya, tatiya, catuttha), Ñāna (the four Aryan truths), Magga (the four Aryan paths), Patticariya (the four fruits of the life of the recluse), and lokattha (for the promotion of the good of the world). It further deals with the application of mindfulness (referring to the body, the sensation, the mind, the phenomena); with the pāṭihāriya or miracle [usually in stock phrase iddhi or miracle], ādesanā (spiritual command), anusāsani (inspiring instructions), as the marvellous modes of Buddha's taming other people.

Mr. Arnold C. Taylor who has edited the Paṭisambhidāmagga, Vols. I and II, for the Pāli Text Society, London, observes in his preface to the Paṭisambhidāmagga, Vol. II (p. vi), that "the traditional opening, 'Evaṁ me sutaṁ', occurs fairly frequently, and explains the formal inclusion of the Paṭisambhidāmagga in the Sutta Piṭaka. In essence the book is wholly Abhidhammistic, if one may use the word, and must be placed among the very latest of the canonical books. Not only is the treatment of the various subjects essentially scholastic in character, but whole passages

are taken verbatim from the Vinaya, and from the Dīgha, Aṅguttara, and Saṁyutta collections of the Sutta Piṭaka, while a general acquaintance with the early Buddhist legends is assumed. In the Iddhikathā in this volume, for instance, the names of saints who possessed various kinds of iddhi are given without comment, as if their stories were well known." The Paṭisambhidāmagga belongs to the literature of the Abhidhamma type and it describes how analytical knowledge can be acquired by an arahat (saint). There are Sinhalese and Burmese manuscripts of this text and a Siamese edition of the same is available, which very closely resembles the Burmese tradition. Mabel Hunt's Index (J.R.A.S., 1908) to the Paṭisambhidāmagga deserves mention.

Buddhavaṁsa.

The Buddhavaṁsa is the fourteenth book and it contains in verse the history of the twenty-four Buddhas supposed to have preceded the historical Gautama Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, during the last twelve world-cycles (Kalpas). They are Dīpaṅkara,[1] Kondañña, Maṅgala,[2] Sumaṇa, Revata, Sobhita, Anomadassī, Paduma, Nārada, Padumuttara, Sumedha, Sujāta, Piyadassī, Atthadassī, Dhammadassī, Siddhattha, Tissa, Phussa, Vipassi, Sikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Konāgamana, and Kassapa. The last six Buddhas are mentioned in the Mahāpadhāna Sutta and the Āṭānāṭīya Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. Gotama was the twenty-fifth Buddha. A brief summary of the account of these Buddhas is given a few pages below. Metteyya will be the successor of Gautama and a legendary account of this future Buddha forms the subject-matter of a later poetical work called the Anāgatavaṁsa. The Rev. Richard Morris, who has edited the text in Roman character for the P.T.S., remarks in his edition, "The Buddhavaṁsa may be a mere

[1] and [2] The Northern Buddhists have also Buddha histories. The Mahāvastu has a long list of Buddhas and it also gives accounts of them (*vide* my book "A Study of the Mahāvastu", pt. I, chap. I).

poetical expansion of some short prose history of the Buddhas who appeared before Gotama's time". In the Buddhavaṁsa there is a chapter on the distribution of the Buddha's relics.

The Buddhavaṁsa was propounded by the supreme Buddha, the omniscient Tathāgata while he was perambulating in the Ratanacaṅkama at the great Nigrodha vihāra at Kapilavatthu. His object in so doing was to rescue twenty-two thousand kinsmen of his and innumerable koṭis of men and gods from the four torrents of the passion or *oghas*. The occasion for its enunciation was an interesting one. The supreme Buddha during the first twenty years of his Buddhahood led the life of a pilgrim sojourning at such places as he found most convenient to dwell. The twentieth year was passed at Rājagriha, and from that period, he exclusively dwelt either at the Jetavana-mahāvihāra or at Pubbārāma, deriving his subsistence by alms. At that time, once, when the hemanta season had been over and vasanta arrived, Satthā (the divine teacher Śākya), who had by this time come to Rājagriha, thought that it was the time when the Tathāgata had promised to repair to Kapilavatthu. On an appeal being made, he set out from Rājagriha to Kapilavatthu attended by twenty thousand Arhats. On reaching there, he performed two miracles of two opposite results; and it was upon this occasion that he propounded the Buddhavaṁsa. It had been perpetuated till the third convocation by the unbroken succession of the theras, and subsequently by their disciples up to the present day.

The Buddhavaṁsa has been intelligently divided into three portions or *nidānas*. The life-history of the Buddha "extending from the age in which the sacred assurance was vouchsafed to the Great Being at the foot of Dīpaṅkara Buddha, until by his death in the character of Vessantara he was reborn in the Tusita-devaloka, is called the *dure nidāna* or the history of remote antiquity. The history extending from the translation by death

from Tusita to the attainment of omniscience at the foot of the Bodhi is called *Avi-dure-nidāna.*" And lastly the history from the attainment of Buddhahood under the Bodhi tree to the Parinirvāṇa and whatever else that intervened between these two is included under the Santike Nidāna, i.e., contemporaneous history.

We shall now give a brief account of each of the twenty-five Buddhas already mentioned.

The *first Buddha* (*Buddhavaṁsa*, *P.T.S.*, *pp.* 6–18) was Dīpaṅkara. In the time of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara, Sumedha, who was destined to be a Buddha, was born in a rich brahmin family at the city of Amarāvatī. But seeing that 'birth is sorrow' he distributed his wealth and retired to the Himavanta. Once the people of the Paccantadesavisaya invited the Tathāgata to visit their country. They set on clearing the road. Sumedha also began to clear a part of the road. But before he finished his task, Dīpaṅkara with a good number of bhikkhus came to the place. Sumedha desired that the Buddha should not go through the mud. The Lord with his followers crossed the muddy place walking on the body of Sumedha. Dīpaṅkara impressed with this act of merit foretold that Sumedha would be a 'Buddha' in future.

Dīpaṅkara was born in a Khattiya family of the city of Rammavatī. Sumedha and Sumedhā were his parents. Padumā was his wife and Usabhakkhanda his son. He left the world. He attained perfect enlightenment and preached the Norm for the good of all at the request of Brahmā.

The second Buddha (*Buddhavaṁsa*, *pp.* 19–21) was Koṇḍañña. He was born in the city of Rammavatī. His father was Sunanda, a Khattiya, and mother Sujātā. His wife was Rucidevī and got a son who went by the name of Vijitasena.

The third Buddha (*Ibid.*, *pp.* 21–23) was Maṅgala who was born in the city of Uttara. His father was Uttara and mother Uttarā. Yasavatī was his wife and Sīvala his son.

The fourth Buddha (*Ibid., pp.* 23–25) was Sumana. He was born in the city of Mekhala. His father was Sudatta and mother Sirimā. His wife was Vaṭaṁsikā and son Anupama.

The fifth Buddha (*Ibid., pp.* 25-26) was Revata. He was born in the city of Sudhaññaka. His father was Vipula and mother Vipulā. His wife was Sudassanā and his son Varuṇa.

The sixth Buddha (*Ibid., pp.* 27-28) was Sobhita. He was born in the city of Sudhamma. His father was Sudhamma and mother Sudhammā. He enjoyed the worldly life for nine thousand years. His wife was Sumaṅgī and Sīha was his son.

The seventh Buddha (*Ibid., pp.* 29-30) was Anomadassi. He was born in the city of Candavatī. His father was Yasavā and mother Yasodharā. His wife was Sirimā and Upavāna was his son.

The eighth Buddha (*Ibid., pp.* 31-32) was Paduma. He was born in the city of Campaka. His father was Asama and mother Asamā. Uttarā was his wife and Ramma his son.

The ninth Buddha (*Ibid., pp.* 33-34) was Nārada. He was born in the city of Dhaññavatī. Sudeva was his father and Anomā was his mother. Jitasenā was his wife and Nanduttaro his son.

The tenth Buddha (*Ibid., pp.* 35-36) was Padumuttara. He was born in the city of Haṃsavatī. Ānanda was his father and Sujātā his mother. His wife was Vasudattā and his son was Uttara.

The eleventh Buddha (*Ibid., pp.* 37-38) was Sumedha. He was born in the city of Sudassana. His father was Sudatta and mother Sudattā. Sumanā was his wife and Sumitta his son.

The twelfth Buddha (*Ibid., pp.* 39–41) was Sujāta who was born in the city of Sumaṅgala. His father was Uggata and mother Pabhāvatī. Sirinandā was his wife and Upasena his son.

The thirteenth Buddha (*Ibid., pp.* 41-42) was Piyadassi. He was born in the city of Sudhañña. His father was Sudatta and mother Sucandā. His wife was Vimalā and Kañcanavela his son.

The fourteenth Buddha (*Ibid., pp.* 43-44) was Atthadassi. He was born in the city of Sobhaṇa. Sāgara was his father and Sudassanā his mother. His wife was Visākhā and Sena was his son.

The fifteenth Buddha (*Ibid., pp.* 45-46) was Dhammadassī. He was born in the city of Saraṇa. His father was Saraṇa and mother Sunandā. Vicitoḷī was his wife and Puññavaḍḍhana his son.

The sixteenth Buddha (*Ibid., pp.* 47-48) was Siddhattha. He was born in the city of Vebhāra. His father was Udena and Suphassā was his mother. Sumanā was his wife and Anupama his son.

The seventeenth Buddha (*Ibid., pp.* 48–50) was Tissa. He was born in the city of Khemaka. Janasandha was his father and Padumā his mother. Subhaddā was his wife and Ānanda his son.

The eighteenth Buddha (*Ibid., pp.* 50-51) was Phussa. He was born in the city of Kāsika. His father was Jayasena and Sirimā was his mother. His wife was Kisāgotamī and his son was Ānanda.

The nineteenth Buddha (*Ibid., pp.* 52–54) was Vipassi. He was born in the city of Bandhumati. His father was Bandhuma and Bandhumatī was his mother. His wife was Sutanā and his son was Saṃvaṭṭakkhanda.

The twentieth Buddha (*Ibid., pp.* 54-55) was Sikhi. He was born in the city of Aruṇavatī. Aruṇa was his father and Pabhāvatī was his mother. Sabbakāmā was his wife and Atula his son.

The twenty-first Buddha (*Ibid., pp.* 56-57) was Vessabhu. He was born in the city of Anoma. Supatita was his father and Yasavatī his mother. Sucittā was his wife and Suppabuddha his son.

The twenty-second Buddha (*Ibid., pp.* 58-59) was Kakusandha. He was born in the city of Khemavatī. The brahmin Aggidatta was his father and Visākhā his mother. His wife was Virocamānā and his son was Uttara.

The twenty-third Buddha (*Ibid., pp.* 60-61) was Koṇāgamana. He was born in the city of Sobhavatī. The brahmin Yaññadatta was his father and Uttarā

his mother. Rucigattā was his wife and Satthavāha his son.

The twenty-fourth Buddha (*Ibid.*, *pp.* 62–64) was Kassapa. He was born in the city of Benares. The brahmin Brahmadatta was his father and Dhanavatī his mother. His wife was Sunandā and Vijitasena was his son.

The twenty-fifth Buddha (*Ibid.*, *pp.* 65-66) was Gotama Buddha. He was born in the city of Kapilavatthu. His father was the king Suddhodana and his mother was Māyā. Bhaddakaccā was his wife and Rāhula was his son.

Cariyāpiṭaka.

The Cariyāpiṭaka is the fifteenth book. It is a post-Asokan work. It means a canonical collection of stories illustrating the modes in which the Bodhisattva practised the cariyā or conduct. It contains in verse a series of narratives relating to the thirty-four of the supposed previous births of the historical Buddha himself. The lofty means or ten perfections (dasa pāramiyas) whereby Gautama attained Buddhahood are mentioned in it. The stories told in the verses of the Cariyāpiṭaka are parallel to the Jātaka stories in prose. The Rev. Richard Morris who has edited the text for the P.T.S. says "These birth-stories presuppose a familiar acquaintance with all the incidents of the corresponding prose tales". The verses are written in anuṭṭhuva chanda. The language is simple and the style is similar to that of the Dhammapada.[1] This work was repeated by Ānanda and rehearsed by 500 arahats who were members of the First Council. Dr. Morris who has edited this work for the P.T.S. has traced all the stories found in this work to their sources excepting three, namely, Mahāgovinda, Dhammādhamma, and Candakumāra, the sources of which have been traced by me (see my Edition of the Cariyāpiṭaka).

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[1] For a detailed comparison of these verses with the Jātaka tales, see Introduction to my Devanāgrī edition of the Cariyāpiṭaka, published by Messrs. Matilal Benarsi Dass, Saidmitha Street, Lahore.

The work shows how the Bodhisattva had attained the ten pāramitās or perfections in his previous births. The first two pāramitās, generosity and goodness, are illustrated by ten stories each, while fifteen stories refer to the other eight perfections, viz., renunciation, wisdom, energy, patience, truthfulness, resolution, kindness to all beings, and equanimity. The stories are put into the mouth of Gautama himself. The stories of Akatti, Saṅkha, Dhanañjaya, Sudassana, Govinda, Nimi, Candakumāra, Sivi, Vessantara, Sasapaṇḍita, Sīlava-nāga, Bhūridatta, Campeyya, Cūlabodhi, Mahiṁsa-rāja, Ruru-miga, Mātaṅga, Dhammādhammadevaputta, Jayaddisa, Saṅkhapāla, Yudhañjaya, Somanassa, Ayoghara, Bhisa, Soṇapaṇḍita, Temiya, Vānarinda, Saccasahvaya, Vaṭṭapotaka, Maccharājā, Kaṇhadīpāyana, Sutasoma, Suvaṇṇasāma, Ekarājā, and Mahālomahaṁsa form the subject-matter of the Cariyāpiṭaka, a summary of which is given below.

Akatti (Cariyāpitaka, P.T.S., p. 73).

Akatti was meditating in a forest. As he was making a strong effort to acquire merits, Inda came to test him in the guise of a brahmin. Akatti thrice gave in charity the leaves which had been heaped up in front of his leaf-hut, to the brahmin for the attainment of bodhi (enlightenment) (cf. Akitti Jātaka, Jātaka, IV, pp. 236–242).

Saṅkha (*Ibid.*, p. 74).

Saṅkha went to the sea-shore and on the way he saw a sayambhu (Buddha) treading the path which was very hot and the sands on the path were also heated by the rays of the sun. Saṅkha saluted him and gave him in charity a pair of wooden slippers and an umbrella for the attainment of bodhi (cf. Saṅkhapāla Jātaka, Jātaka, V, pp. 161–177).

Dhanañjaya (*Ibid.*, pp. 74-75).

Dhanañjaya was the king of Indapatta. Some brahmins came to him from Kaliṅga, at that time greatly troubled by drought and famine, for a royal elephant, the presence of which in a country brings copious rain. Dhanañjaya gave in charity the

elephant to them for the attainment of bodhi (cf. Kurudhamma Jātaka, II, pp. 365–381).

Sudassana (*Ibid.*, p. 75).

Sudassana was the king of Kusāvatī. He thrice declared that he would satisfy the desire of everybody, when communicated to him. Hungry and thirsty people as well as those in need of garlands, unguents, clothes, wooden slippers, etc., came to him and he fulfilled their desires. In many parts of his kingdom, arrangements were made to offer charities. The charities made by him with a view to the attainment of bodhi, were unparalleled (cf. Mahāsudassana Jātaka, Jātaka, I, pp. 391–393).

Govinda (*Ibid.*, p. 76).

Govinda was a chaplain of seven kings. His income from the seven kingdoms was given in charity by him for the attainment of bodhi (cf. Mahāgovinda Suttanta, Dīgha, II).

Nimi (*Ibid.*, p. 76).

Nimi was the king of Mithilā. He built four dānasālās (alms houses) in which charities, on a large scale in drink, food, seats, garments, etc., were made to beasts, birds, human beings, all for the attainment of bodhi (cf. Nimi Jātaka, Jātaka, VI, pp. 95–129).

Canda-Kumāra (*Ibid.*, p. 77).

Canda-Kumāra was the son of Ekarājā of Pupphavatī. He offered charities whole-heartedly and he never ate anything without first giving it to a beggar (cf. Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka, Jātaka, VI, pp. 129–157).

Sivi (*Ibid.*, pp. 77-78).

Sivi was a king of Ariṭṭha. He thought that he would offer such charities as no man had ever offered. He was ready to offer his eyes in charity if anybody would ask for them. In order to test him, Inda in the guise of an old blind brahmin, came to him and asked for one of his eyes which he gave with great pleasure. When asked for another of his eyes he gladly offered to him. Simply for the attainment of bodhi, he offered his two eyes in charity (cf. Sivi Jātaka, Jātaka, IV, pp. 401–412).

Vessantara (*Ibid.*, pp. 78–81).

Vessantara was the son of Sañjaya and Phusatī, king and queen of Jetuttara. When he was eight years old, he thought that he would offer his eyes, ears, heart, flesh, blood, etc., to anybody, if he so desired. Once on a full-moon sabbath day he went to the alms house, riding an elephant named Paccaya to offer charity. This elephant was the royal elephant, the presence of which would turn bad days into good days, drought into rain, famine into good harvest. At this time there was an outbreak of famine at Kaliṅga and the king of Kaliṅga sent some brahmins to him to request him to give the elephant. Vessantara at once gave him the elephant. On account of this act of giving the elephant to them, the inhabitants of the kingdom of Sivi became very angry and banished him from the kingdom to the Vaṅkapabbata. Vessantara asked the people of the kingdom of Sivi to allow him to offer a charity before he left Jetuttara. Being allowed he caused drums to be beaten in every part of his kingdom to announce that he would offer a large charity. There was a talk among the people that king Vessantara was being driven out of his kingdom for his charity but that it was a wonder that he was again preparing for a large charity. He left the city after offering in charity elephants, horses, chariots, slaves, slave-girls, cows, and everything he possessed. He went to Vaṅkapabbata with his queen Maddī, son and daughter, Jālī and Kaṇhā. One day he offered his son and daughter to a cruel brahmin named Yojaka in the absence of Maddī. In order to protect Maddī, a faithful woman, Inda came to him in the guise of a brahmin and asked for Maddī. Vessantara gave Maddī, his queen, to the brahmin. For the attainment of bodhi, Vessantara gave in charity his wife, son, and daughter. Vessantara's father came to the Vaṅkapabbata and took him to his kingdom. On his arrival, the kingdom became prosperous (cf. Vessantara Jātaka, Jātaka, VI, pp. 479–593).

Sasapaṇḍita (*Ibid.*, pp. 82-83).

Once the Bodhisatta Siddhārtha was born as a hare. He used to live in a forest with three friends. His duty was to instruct his friends to offer charity, to observe precepts, and to do other meritorious deeds. On a sabbath day his friends collected something to offer but he had nothing to give in charity. To test him Inda in the guise of a brahmin first came to him and asked for something to eat. He told the brahmin that he would offer something not offered by anybody else before and he requested the brahmin to kindle a fire. The hare shook his body in order to let go other creatures existing on his body and then he jumped into the fire in order to have his body cooked so that the brahmin might take the cooked flesh. By the force of his virtue, the fire became cold as ice (cf. Sasa Jātaka, Jātaka, III, pp. 51–56).

Sīlava-nāga (*Ibid.*, p. 84).

Sīlava-nāga was devoted to his mother and he used to live in a forest looking after his old mother. A king was informed by the frequenters of the forest that an elephant was available in the forest which was worthy of being king's maṅgalahatthī. The king sent a skilful elephant-driver who saw the elephant in the forest picking up lotus-reed for his mother. When the elephant was caught, it did not show any sign of anger nor any grief for its mother. For the fulfilment of sīlapāramī, the elephant behaved very gently when caught (cf. Sīlava-nāga Jātaka, Jātaka, I, pp. 319–322).

Bhūridatta (*Ibid.*, p. 85).

Once Bodhisatta was born as a snake-king named Bhūridatta who was taken to the devaloka by king Virupakkha. Seeing the beauty and wealth of the devaloka, Bhūridatta made up his mind to acquire virtues which would enable him to attain heaven. He spent his days taking little food and observing precepts. He lay down on an ant-hill observing precepts. A certain person took him to various places, made him dance and gave him lots of trouble which he

patiently bore for the observance of precepts (cf. Bhūridatta Jātaka, Jātaka, VI, pp. 157–219).

Campeyya (*Ibid.*, pp. 85-86).

Bodhisatta was born as a snake-king named Campeyya. On an uposatha day when he was observing the precepts a snake-charmer caught him and took him to the palace where he was made to dance. He was endowed with such a miraculous power that he could perform many miracles, but for the fulfilment of sīlapāramī he patiently did what he was forced to do (cf. Campeyya Jātaka, Jātaka, IV, pp. 454–468).

Cūlabodhi (*Ibid.*, p. 86).

Once the Bodhisatta was born as Cūlabodhi. Finding fear in the world and delight in renunciation, he left his beautiful wife and led the life of a hermit. At Benares he was living in the king's garden not being attached to anything. His wife followed him into the garden and engaged herself in meditation there, a little away from him. The king asked him about his beautiful wife, but he was informed by Cūlabodhi that she was not his wife but she was following the same dhamma and same sāsana. The king forcibly took away the woman but Cūlabodhi patiently calmed his anger for the attainment of sīlapāramī (cf. Cullabodhi Jātaka, Jātaka, IV, pp. 22–27).

Mahiṁsa-rāja (*Ibid.*, p. 87).

Bodhisatta was born as a king of the buffaloes living in a forest. He was horrible to look at, stout and strong and bulky. He used to lie down everywhere according to his will. In a nice place in the forest, he used to live. A monkey came there and troubled him much. A yakkha advised him to kill the monkey but he did not pay attention to his word, because the observance of the precepts might be disturbed (cf. Mahisa Jātaka, Jātaka, II, pp. 385–387).

Ruru-miga (*Ibid.*, pp. 87-88).

In a beautiful place near the banks of the Ganges there was a deer named Ruru. Farther up a person being oppressed by his master jumped

from the spot, not caring for his life. The person being carried by the current came to the deer who took him to his abode. The deer asked him not to disclose the spot where he was living. He promised not to do so, but he left the place and soon came back with the king for profit. The deer said everything to the king who was going to kill the person for his treacherous conduct. The deer came to the rescue of the person with the result that the deer was killed with the arrow thrown by the king (cf. Ruru Jātaka, Jātaka, IV, pp. 255–263).

Mātaṅga (*Ibid.*, pp. 88-89).

A Jaṭila named Mātaṅga was a very pious hermit. He used to live on the banks of the Ganges with a brahmin. The brahmin out of jealousy cursed the Jaṭila that his head would be broken. The hermit was very pious and faultless. The curse was therefore effective in the case of the brahmin and the hermit sacrificed his own life and saved the brahmin (cf. Mātaṅga Jātaka, Jātaka, IV, pp. 375–390).

Dhammādhamma devaputta (*Ibid.*, p. 89).

A yakkha named Dhamma was endowed with miraculous powers and compassionate to all. He was always engaged in performing ten virtuous deeds and instructing others to do so. He used to travel from place to place with his retinue. Another yakkha named Adhamma used to travel from place to place instructing people to commit ten kinds of sins. One day both of them met each other on the way and quarrelled. Dhamma for the fulfilment of sīlapāramī did not quarrel with him and allowed him to pass (cf. Dhamma Jātaka, Jātaka, IV, pp. 100–104).

Jayaddisa (*Ibid.*, p. 90).

In the kingdom of Pañcāla, in the city of Kappila there was a king named Jayaddisa. His son was Sutadhamma who was pious and virtuous and he was always protecting his own retinue. King Jayaddisa went out to hunt and was caught by a demon who was asked by the king to save his

life for the time being by taking the deer. The king said he would again come to him after making necessary arrangements in his kingdom. Sutadhamma went to the demon not being armed. Sutadhamma asked the demon to kindle a fire into which he would jump to have his body cooked for his food. For the fulfilment of sīla he gave up his life (cf. Jayaddisa Jātaka, Jātaka, V, pp. 21–36).

Saṅkhapāla (*Ibid.*, p. 91).

Saṅkhapāla was a snake-king, endowed with miraculous powers and very poisonous. He sat at the junction of the four streets to offer himself in charity to any beggar. The sons of the Bhojas who were very rough, harsh, and cruel, drew him with a rope pushed through his nose. For the observance of precepts he did not cherish anger (cf. Saṅkhapāla Jātaka, Jātaka, V, pp. 161–177).

Yudhañjaya (*Ibid.*, p. 92).

When the Bodhisatta-Siddhārtha was a prince named Yudhañjaya in the kingdom of Kuru, he became disgusted with the worldly life on seeing dew drops becoming dried up by the rays of the sun. He left the world after saluting his parents. For the attainment of bodhi he did not care for the kingdom nor listen to the prayers of the king and his subjects (cf. Yuvañjaya Jātaka, Jātaka, IV, pp. 119–123).

Somanassa (*Ibid.*, pp. 92-93).

In the city of Indapatta, the Bodhisatta was born as a prince named Somanassa. The king of Indapatta had a hermit named Kuhakatāpasa. The king used to love and respect Kuhaka and built a beautiful garden for him. Somanassa said to Kuhaka thus, "You are worthless, you have not the qualities of an honest man in you and you have fallen off from the state of a samaṇa. You have abandoned all good qualities, such as shame, etc." Kuhaka became angry with him and induced the king to drive him from the kingdom. Some cruel persons caught him and took him away from his mother. They presented him before the king. He then succeeded in appeasing the wrath of the king who offered him

the kingdom. He left the world for the attainment of bodhi (cf. Somanassa Jātaka, Jātaka, IV, pp. 444–454).

Ayoghara (*Ibid.*, p. 94).

The Bodhisatta was born as the son of Kāsīrāja. He was brought up in an iron house and hence he was called Ayoghara. He had to earn his bread with great difficulty. He was offered the kingdom, but he did not accept it and renounced the world for the attainment of bodhi (cf. Ayoghara Jātaka, Jātaka, IV, pp. 491–499).

Bhisa (*Ibid.*, pp. 94-95).

Bodhisatta was born in a Kṣatriya family consisting of seven brothers and sisters. Parents, brothers, sisters, and companions asked him to marry and lead a household life, but he renounced the world for the attainment of bodhi (cf. Bhisa Jātaka, Jātaka, IV, pp. 304–314).

Soṇapaṇḍita (*Ibid.*, p. 95).

In the city of Brahmavaḍḍhana, Bodhisatta was born in a very rich family. Parents and relatives asked him to enjoy worldly pleasures, but he did not hear them and renounced the worldly life for bodhi (cf. Sona-Nanda Jātaka, Jātaka, V, pp. 312–332).

Temiya (*Ibid.*, pp. 96-97).

The Bodhisatta, in order to attain bodhi (enlightenment) had to fulfil the ten pāramitās or perfections for which he had to undergo several births to fulfil each pāramitā. He fulfilled the adhiṭṭhāna pāramitā by steadfastly adhering to his endeavour to become a Buddha like a mountain unmoved by storm coming from all directions. He was born as the son of the king of Kāśī. He was brought up in a way that befits a prince. But he was not destined to indulge in the vile pleasures of a worldly life, which lead one to niraya or hell. In order to carry out what he desired he became deaf, dumb, and motionless through the help of the guardian deity. Thus he was not fit to do any sort of work. The commander, the chaplain, and the

countryfolk unanimously agreed to leave him. The charioteer took him out of the city and dug a pit in order to bury him alive. But the Bodhisatta did not give up his steadfast resolve [cf. Temiya Jātaka (Mūgapakkha Jātaka), Vol. VI, pp. 1–30].

Vānarinda (*Ibid.*, p. 97).

Bodhisatta was born as a monkey-king living in a cave on the banks of a river where a crocodile, who was waiting to catch hold of him, invited him to come to him. Vānarinda said, "You open your mouth, I am coming". Then the monkey-king jumped over his head and fell on the other side of the river. This he did for the sake of truth (cf. Kapi Jātaka, Jātaka, II, pp. 268–270).

Saccasahvaya (*Ibid.*, p. 97).

When the Bodhisatta was born as a hermit named Saccasahvaya, he asked the people to speak the truth. He effected the unity of the people by means of truth (cf. Saccaṁkira Jātaka, I, pp. 322–327).

Vattapotaka (*Ibid.*, p. 98).

Bodhisatta was born as a young quail, his parents left him in the nest and went away for food. At this time there was a forest fire. He could not fly as his wings were undeveloped. He asked the fire to extinguish itself as his parents were not in the nest and he also was unable to move. He acquired much merit in the previous births and hence the fire became extinguished due to the influence of this truth (cf. Vaṭṭaka Jātaka, I, pp. 212–215).

Maccharājā (*Ibid.*, p. 99).

Bodhisatta was born as a fish-king in a big pond. Crows, vultures, cranes, and other bipeds were always troubling his relatives. So he thought of saving his relatives, but finding no means, he made up his mind to save them by truth. He said that as far as he could remember, he never willingly killed any being. By this truth he prayed for rain. Soon there was a heavy rain and lands, high and low, were over-flooded, fishes went away hither and

thither and the nests of birds were destroyed (cf. Maccha Jātaka, Jātaka, I, pp. 210–212).

Kaṇhadīpāyana (*Ibid.*, pp. 99-100).

Bodhisatta was born as a sage named Kaṇhadīpāyana. He used to live unknown and free from attachment. A fellow brahmacārī named Maṇḍavya came to his hermitage with his wife and son. The son irritated a snake which bit him. His parents became overwhelmed with grief. Kaṇhadīpāyana did not do any harm to the angry snake. He saved the son and his parents were relieved (cf. Kaṇhadīpāyana Jātaka, Jātaka, IV, pp. 27–37).

Sutasoma (*Ibid.*, pp. 100-101).

Bodhisatta was born as a king named Sutasoma who was attacked by a demon. The demon told the king that if he could free him, then one hundred Kṣatriyas who were seized and brought for the sacrifice would be sent to him. The king then abandoned his wealth and returned to the demon. For the sake of truth the king spared his life (cf. Mahāsutasoma Jātaka, Jātaka, V, pp. 456–511).

Suvaṇṇasāma (*Ibid.*, p. 101).

When the Bodhisatta was living in a forest as one named Sāma and used to practise meditation on mettā, Inda sent to him a lion and a tiger to test him. He was not frightened by the ferocious animals which surrounded him while he was practising meditation on mettā (friendliness) nor did he betray any fear before others (cf. Sāma Jātaka, Jātaka, VI, pp. 68–95).

Ekarājā (*Ibid.*, pp. 101-102).

Bodhisatta was born as a famous king named Ekarājā. He used to observe precepts and instructed his subjects to do so. He used to perform ten good deeds and caused his subjects to do so. He supported a great multitude by offering four requisites. A king named Dabbasena attacked his capital and looted his kingdom. Ekarājā always desired mettā of the enemy, although the enemy in his presence cut off his ministers, subjects, and seized his wife and son (cf. Ekarāja Jātaka, Jātaka, III, pp. 13–15).

Bodhisatta was born as Mahālomahaṁsa. In the cemetery, he used to lie down on a bed made of the bones of the dead; villagers showed him various beautiful sights; some came to him with various kinds of food and garlands. He was indifferent to those who troubled him and to those who pleased him. He retained the balance of mind in prosperity or in adversity (cf. Lomahaṁsa Jātaka, Jātaka, I, pp. 389–391).

Mahālomahaṁsa (*Ibid.*, p. 102).

Dr. B. M. Barua's edition of the Cariyāpiṭaka is in the Press. He has made an attempt to reconstruct this text with the help of some quotations in the Atthasālinī, the Jātaka commentary, and the commentary on the Cariyāpiṭaka by Dhammapāla. His edition shows that there were other stories to illustrate the three pāramitās, e.g., viriya, paññā, and adhiṭṭhāna.

The Apadāna is the sixteenth and last book. It is an anthology of legends in verse, which describes great deeds of Buddhist Arahats. It contains biographies of 550 male members and 40 female members of the Buddhist Order in the time of the Buddha. This book has been published in Roman character in two volumes by M. E. Lilley for the P.T.S. In the P.T.S. edition we find that there are Buddhāpadāna and Paccekabuddhāpadāna. Then we have the Therāpadāna which contains biographies of 547 theras, e.g., Sāriputta, Mahā-Moggallāna, Mahākassapa, Anuruddha, Puṇṇa-Mantāniputta, Upāli, Aññakondañña, Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja, Khadiravaniya Revata, Ānanda, Nanda, Pilindavaccha, Rāhula, Raṭṭhapāla,[1] Sumaṅgala, Subhūti, Uttiya, Mahā-

Apadāna.

[1] Read "The Legend of Raṭṭhapāla in the Pāli Apadāna and Buddhaghosa's commentary" by Mabel Bode. Buddhaghosa in his Papañcasūdanī and Dhammapāla in his ṭikā enlarged the legend of Raṭṭhapāla in their most instructive vein. The Apadāna commentary while glossing carefully the phrases of eulogy of the Buddha, does not after all dwell much on Raṭṭhapāla's earlier existences as deva and king. Those features of the legend come out with more distinctness and colour in the Manorathapūraṇī

Kaccāna, Kāludāyī, Cunda, Sela, Bakkula, and others. The Therī-Apadāna contains biographies of 40 therīs, e.g., Gotamī, Khemā, Paṭācārā, Bhaddā-Kuṇḍalakesā, Dhammadinnā, Yasodharā, Bhaddā-Kāpilānī, Abhirūpanandā, Ambapālī, Selā, and others.

The word Apadāna means 'pure action', or 'heroic deed', and each of the Apadānas gives us first the life of its hero or heroine in one or more previous births. An "Apadāna" has both a story of the past and a story of the present, but it differs from a Jātaka in that the latter refers always to the past life of a Buddha, whereas an Apadāna deals usually, not always, with that of an arahat.

The Apadāna stories lay much stress on formal aspects of religion, e.g., pujā, vandanā, dāna, etc. They exemplify by the lives of theras and therīs how the heavenly rewards so obtained continue until arahatship is attained. They show the importance of worship of shrines, relics, and topes, and

where Buddhaghosa takes as his starting point the mere mention of his hero's name in a list of theras. But still the Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā, possibly written last of the three, adds something even to the elaborate detail of the Papañcasūdanī and the charming fable of the Manorathapūraṇī. The legend that can be touched and retouched and (adorned); the portrait that can be painted in different attitudes are dear to artificers like Buddhaghosa. Under his hand the personages who begin as traditional types often end as human beings, with a physiognomy that we remember. But naturally it is rather as the collector of legends than as the romancer that the old commentator can claim our gratitude. In his numerous commentaries (where no opportunity to tell a story is lost) there is material for comparison with the Sanskrit and Chinese. The entirely Buddhistic and pious anupubbakathā of Raṭṭhapāla gives, it is true, little opportunity for such a comparison as is admirably worked out in M. Felix Lacote's study of that (conte profane), the legend of the king Udayana (or Udena), one of Buddhaghosa's personages, who also appears in the vivid narrative of Guṇāḍhya. But the most conventional figures have their interest as landmarks, when we are seeking the ancient and common source whence Buddhaghosa and writers of other schools, of widely differing doctrine, drew their edifying legends. Only as an earnest of further research in this direction these few notes are offered to the master who has inspired and guided us to do our part in exploring a province of Buddhist literature where the borders between (North) and (South) sometimes disappear (Mabel Bode—The Legend of Raṭṭhapāla in the Pāli Apadāna and Buddhaghosa's Commentary).

they also emphasise the charitable and humanitarian aspects of the faith.

Many extracts from the 40 biographies of bhikkhunīs are given in Eduard Muller's edition of the commentary on the Therīgāthā (P.T.S., 1893). One of the Apadānas[1] seems to allude to the Kathāvatthu, as an Abhidhamma compilation (Apadāna, P.T.S., Pt. I, p. 37). "If this be so," Professor Rhys Davids[2] argues, "the Apadāna must be one of the very latest books in the canon. Other considerations point to a similar conclusion. Thus the number of Buddhas previous to the historical Buddha is given in the Dīgha Nikāya as six ; in later books, such as the Buddhavaṁsa, it has increased to twenty-four. But the Apadāna (see Eduard Muller's article, 'Les Apadānas du sud' in the Proceedings of the Oriental Congress at Geneva, 1894, p. 167) mentions eleven more, bringing the number up to thirty-five. It is very probable that the different legends contained in this collection are of different dates; but the above facts tend to show that they were brought together as we now have them after the date of the composition of most of the other books in the canon."

SECTION III.—THE ABHIDHAMMA PIṬAKA

The third main division of the Tripiṭaka or Tipiṭaka is the Abhidhamma Piṭaka[3] or 'Basket of higher expositions'; or as Childers puts it 'Basket of Transcendental Doctrine'. It treats of the same subject as the Sutta Piṭaka and differs from that

[1] "Abhidhammanayaññohaṁ Kathāvatthu visuddhiyā sabbesam viññāpetvāna viharāmi anāsavo."

[2] Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. I, p. 603.

[3] There is a book called Abhidhamma mātikā which is a summary of the whole of Abhidhamma or the metaphysics of Buddhism (cf. Abhidhammamūlaṭīkā which is a commentary on the Abhidhamma Piṭaka written by Ānanda Mahāthera of Anurādhapura. This is the oldest ṭīkā on the Abhidhamma Piṭaka). Read a valuable paper by C. A. F. Rhys Davids on the Abhidhamma Piṭaka and Commentaries, J.R.A.S., 1923.

collection only in being more scholastic. It is composed chiefly in the form of questions and answers like a catechism. The starting point of this collection appears to have been the Sutta Piṭaka. The Abhidhamma treatises follow a progressive scheme of treatment, the mātikās or uddesas are followed by the niddesas. The ideas are classified in outline. They are overloaded with synonyms. In some places, it is difficult to find out the real meaning. Originality appears to be wanting everywhere. The Abhidhamma is a supplement to Dhamma or sutta and not a systematic presentation of philosophy. The Abhidhamma Piṭaka comprises seven works :—

1. Dhammasaṅgaṇi, 2. Vibhaṅga, 3. Kathāvatthu, 4. Puggalapaññatti, 5. Dhātukathā, 6. Yamaka, and 7. Paṭṭhāna.

These seven books of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka are commonly known as Sattapakaraṇa or seven treatises. We hold with Mrs. Rhys Davids that the very form of a group of works like the Abhidhamma shows that centres of education and training had been established, drawing to themselves some at least of the culture of the day. Such logical development and acumen as were possessed by the sophists and causists, mentioned in the Brahmajāla Sutta and the Udāna, would now find scope in the growing Theravāda teaching and literature.

Dhammasaṅgaṇi.—The Dhammasaṅgaṇi is one of the most important books of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. It is known as Sangīti-pariyāya-pada to the Sarvāstivāda school. The text has been edited by Eduard Müller, Ph.D., for the Pāli Text Society, London, from a Burmese manuscript in the India Office and a Sinhalese manuscript from the Vanavāsa vihāra in Bentoṭa in Ceylon. It means something like "enumeration of conditions" or more literally "co-enumeration of dhamma". It may mean "enumeration of phenomena". It really means exposition of dhamma. "Kāmāvacara rūpāvacarādidhamme saṅgayha saṅkhipitvā vā gaṇayati saṅkhyāti etthāti

dhammasaṅgaṇi." The Dhammasaṅgaṇi is so called because therein the author after compilation and condensation enumerates and sums up the conditions of the Kāmaloka, the Rūpaloka, and so on as what Childers puts it (Pāli Dictionary, p. 447). "It is, in the first place", says Mrs. Rhys Davids, "a manual or text-book, and not a treatise or disquisition, elaborated and rendered attractive and edifying after the manner of most of the Sutta Piṭaka. And then, that its subject is ethics, but that the inquiry is conducted from a psychological standpoint, and indeed, is in great part an analysis of the psychological and psycho-physical data of ethics" (Psychological Ethics, p. xxxii). King Vijayabāhu I (A.D. 1065–1120) of Ceylon made a translation of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi from Pāli into Sinhalese (see Mrs. Rhys Davids—A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics, Introductory Essay, p. xxv). The first English rendering of this work owes its origin to the erudite pen of Mrs. Rhys Davids and is entitled "A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics"—the introductory essay herein gives a bright idea of the history, date, contents, etc., of the text very lucidly and exhaustively. The Dhammasaṅgaṇi aims at enumerating and defining a manner of scattered terms or categories of terms, occurring in the nikāyas of the Sutta Piṭaka. That the technical terms used in the nikāyas are used in it, leads one to place the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, in point of time, after the nikāyas. The Kathāvatthu which is the fifth book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka is said to have been composed by Tissa Moggaliputta in the middle of the third century B.C. According to Mrs. Rhys Davids, Dhammasaṅgaṇi deals with the same topics as in the nikāyas differing only in method of treatment. The Kathāvatthu raises new questions belonging to a later stage in the development of the faith. The Dhammasaṅgaṇi is, therefore, younger than the nikāyas and older than the Kathāvatthu. If we date it half-way between the two, that is, during the first third of the fourth century B.C.,

we shall be on the safe side. But Mrs. Rhys Davids thinks that the Dhammasaṅgaṇi should be dated rather at the middle than at the end of the fourth century or even earlier.

The Dhammasaṅgaṇi opens with an introductory chapter which serves the purpose of a table of contents and which falls into two subdivisions :—(1) the sections referring to Abhidhamma and (2) those referring to Suttanta. The total number of these sections amounts to about 1,599 and treats of various points of psychological interest. This book is divided into three main divisions. The first part deals with the subject of consciousness in its good, bad, and indeterminate states or conditions. The main eight types of thought relating to sensuous universe (Kāmāvacara mahācittaṁ) are the first things considered here. The Dhammasaṅgaṇi lays down that whenever a good thought relating to sensuous universe arises, it is accompanied by pleasure, taste, touch and is then followed by contact (phasso), feeling (vedanā), perception (saññā), volition (cetanā), thought (cittaṁ) and in this way come other things which include also the right views (sammādiṭṭhi) and other methods of the noble path, the various balas (or sources of strength), e.g., saddhā (faith), viriya (energy), etc. Then follows an exposition of phassa (contact), vedanā (feeling), and so on. In the explanation and exposition a strict commentarial method has been adopted giving out fully the significance of each term.

The Dhammasaṅgaṇi contains the simple enumeration and the occasion for the rise of sampajaññaṁ (intelligence), samatho (quiet), paggāho (grasp), and avikkhepo (balance). It points out that the constituents of the first type of thought deal with the four khandhas (aggregates),the two āyatanas (abodes), two dhātus (elements), the three āhāras (nutriments), the eight indriyas (senses), the fivefold jhānas (as distinguished from the four jhānas), the fivefold path, the seven balas (as distinguished from one as we find in the Nettipakaraṇa), tayo hetu

(three causes), eko phassa (one contact), one vedanā (sensation), one saññā (consciousness), eka cetanā (thinking), ekam cittaṁ (one thought), the manāyatana (sphere of ideation), the manoviññānadhātu (element of intellection). The four khandhas are separately dealt with. In the enumeration of the Saṅkhārakhandho about 50 states beginning with phasso (contact) and ending with avikkhepo (balance) have been mentioned. The enumeration and arrangement of this list differ from those given in the first chapter of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi dealing with the Kusaladhammā.

The two āyatanas are the manāyatana and dhammāyatana, the sphere of mind and that of mental states.

There are two dhātus or elements, Manoviññādhātu (intellection) and Dhammadhātu (condition). The Dhammadhātu includes the vedanā-khandha (aggregate of sensation), saññā-khandha (aggregate of consciousness), and saṅkhāra-khandha (aggregate of confections).

The three āhāras (nutriments) are contact, volition, and consciousness. Then come the Pañcaṅgikadhamma, the fivefold jhāna which includes the vitakka and vicāra (initial and sustained application), joy, happiness, and concentration of mind.

The Dhammasaṅgaṇi then deals with the fivefold path, namely, the right views, the right intention, right exertion, right intellection, and right concentration.

Then the seven potentialities are discussed, namely, faith, energy, recollection, concentration, insight, consciousness, and the fear of blame.

Then the three hetus or moral roots are discussed: they are absence of avarice, hatred, and delusion. Then contact, sensation, and perception are treated of.

Then come the other topics, e.g., vedanā-khandha, saññā-khandha, saṅkhāra-khandha, and viññāna-khandha, all these include the Dhamma and the Khandha.

The Indriyas (senses) are the following:—saddhā (faith), viriya (energy), sati (recollection), samādhi (meditation), paññā (wisdom), manindriya (mind), somanassindriya (delight), and jīvitindriya (vigour).

The saṅkhāra-khandha includes phassa (contact), cetanā (thinking), vitakka and vicāra (initial and sustained application), ekaggatā (concentration), saddhā (faith), energy, recollection, vigour, right determination, exertion, meditation, potency of faith, energy, concentration, fear of blame and sin, absence of avarice, of hatred, of covetousness, of malice, calmness of mind and body, etc. In the Dhammasaṅgaṇi there are chapters which analyse everything into groups or pairs. The method adopted here is merely by questioning and answering the main points.

The Dhammsaṅgaṇi also discusses the four modes of progress and four objects of thought. It also deals with objects of meditation (aṭṭhakasinaṁ). Then it discusses about forms as infinite and as beautiful and ugly.

The four jhānas or the sublime abodes may be developed in sixteen ways. Then come the sphere of infinite intellect, the sphere of nothingness and the sphere where there is neither perception nor non-perception. Then come the topics of the kāmāvacarakusalaṁ, rūpāvacarakusalaṁ, and lokuttara cittaṁ. Then come the twelve akusala cittas, manadhātu having kusalavipāka (mind as a result of meritorious work), manoviññāna dhātu (consciousness associated with joy as a result of meritorious deed), consciousness associated with upekkhā (indifference).

Then come Aṭṭhamahāvipāka, rūpāvacara-arūpāvacara vipāka, suddhika-paṭipadā (path leading to purity), suddhika saññataṁ (four modes of progress taken in connection with the notion of emptiness).

Then come the nineteen conceptions, and the modes of progress taken in connection with the

dominant influence of desire. Then are discussed the following topics :—

1. The Paṭhamamaggo vipāka—the result of the first path.
2. The Lokuttara vipāka—the result of Lokuttara citta.
3. Akusala vipāka avyākata—the result of demerit not falling under the category of kusala and akusala.

Kāmāvacara-kiriyā is the action in the sensuous world, rūpāvacara-kiriyā, action in the world of form, and arūpāvacara-kiriyā, action in the world of formlessness.

After the conclusion of the subjects of kusala and akusala, the avyākata (which is neither kusala nor akusala) is treated in the Dhammasaṅgaṇi.

Next follows the portion dealing with the form which is created through some cause, the collection of forms in two, in groups of three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, and eleven. In this way the forms are divided.

Then come the three kusala hetus, the three akusala hetus, and the three avyākata hetus.

Then follow the mental impurities, avarice, hatred, pride, false belief, doubt, dullness, restlessness, shamelessness, and disregard of blame and sin.

The latter portion of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi is a summary of what has been told in the previous portion. The book is full of repetitions and is a crude attempt at explaining certain terms of Buddhist psychology by supplying synonyms for them, but not the detailed explanations. It is free from metaphor or simile.

The topics set forth in the table of contents have been treated in the body of the book. There are in the Dhammasaṅgaṇi passages which can be traced in the Puggalapaññatti, Sāmaññaphala Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya, and in the Milinda Pañha. A detailed explanation of the important

topics treated of in this book is given in the Visuddhimagga.

Method of exposition in the Dhammasaṅgaṇi.

In dealing with the Buddhist method of exposition in the Abhidhamma treatises, we should bear in mind the fact that the method of exposition is the same in all the Abhidhamma books. For the sake of our convenience let us take up the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, the first book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Mrs. Rhys Davids in her Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics (pp. xxxii–xxxvii), a translation of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi or Compendium of states or phenomena, has dealt exhaustively with the method of exposition followed in the above book.

The Dhammasaṅgaṇi is, in the first place, a manual or text-book, and not a treatise or disquisition elaborated and rendered attractive and edifying after the manner of most of the Sutta Piṭaka. That the Buddhist Philosophy is ethical first and last, is beyond dispute. So it is with the Dhammasaṅgaṇi. Its subject is ethics. But the inquiry is conducted from a psychological standpoint and, indeed, is in great part an analysis of the psychological and psychophysical data of ethics.

The work was not compiled solely for academic use. Buddhaghosa maintains that, together with the rest of the Abhidhamma, it was the *ipsissima verba* of the Buddha not attempting to upset the mythical tradition that it was the special mode he adopted in teaching the doctrine to the " hosts of devas come from all parts of the sixteen world-systems, he having placed his mother (reincarnate as a devī) at their head because of the glory of her wisdom ". Whether this myth had grown up to account for the formal, unpicturesque style of the Abhidhamma, on the ground that the devas were above the need of illustration and rhetoric of an earthly kind, we cannot say. The commentary frequently refers to the peculiar difference in style from that employed in the suttanta as consisting

in the Abhidhamma being *nippariyāyadesanā*—teaching which is not accompanied by explanation or disquisition. The definition of the term Abhidhamma in it shows that this piṭaka, and *a fortiori* the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, was considered as a subject of study more advanced than the other piṭakas, and intended to serve as the complement and crown of the learners' earlier courses. Acquaintance with the doctrine is taken for granted. The object is not so much to extend knowledge as to ensure mutual consistency in the intension of ethical notions, and to systematise and formulate the theories and practical mechanism of intellectual and moral progress scattered throughout the suttas.

It is interesting to note the methods adopted to carry out this object. The work was in the first instance inculcated by way of oral teaching respecting a quantity of matter which had been already learnt in the same way. And the memory had to be assisted by other devices. First of these is the catechetical method. Questions, according to Buddhist analysis, are put on five grounds :—

To throw light on what is known ;

To discuss what is known ;

To clear up doubts ;

To get assent (i.e., the premises in an argument granted) ;

To (give a starting-point from which to) set out the content of the statement.

The last is selected as the special motive of the catechising here resorted to. It is literally the wish to discuss or expound, but the meaning is more clearly brought out by the familiar formula quoted, viz., " Four in number, brethren, are these stations in mindfulness. Now which are the four ? " Thus the questions in the Manual are analytic or explicative.

And the memory was yet further assisted by the symmetrical form of both question and answer,

as well as by the generic uniformity in the matter of the questions. Throughout the first book, in the case of each enquiry which opens up a new subject, the answer is set out in a definite plan called uddesa, or "argument", and is rounded off invariably by the appanā, or emphatic summing up. The uddesa is succeeded by the niddesa or exposition, i.e., analytical question and answer on the details of the opening argument. Again, the work is in great part planned with careful regard to logical relation. There is scarcely an answer in any of these niddesas but may perhaps be judged to suffer in precision and lucidity. They substitute for definition proper the method of the dictionary. In this way precision of meaning is not to be expected, since nearly all the so-called synonyms do but mutually overlap in meaning without coinciding. Mrs. Rhys Davids, in her Buddhist Psychology (pp. 139-140), says that the definitions consist very largely of enumerations of synonymous or partly synonymous terms of, as it were, overlapping circles. But they reveal to us much useful information concerning the term described, the terms describing, and the terms which we may have expected to find, but find not. And they show the Sokratic earnestness with which these early Schoolmen strove to clarify their concepts, so as to guard their doctrines from the heretical innovations, to which ambiguity in terms would yield cheap foothold.

Number plays a great part in Buddhist classes and categories. But of all numbers none plays so great a part in aiding methodological coherency and logical consistency as that of duality (positive and negative).

Throughout most of the second book the learner is greatly aided by being questioned on positive terms and their opposites, taken simply and also in combination with other similarly dichotomized pairs. Room is also left in the "Universe of discourse" for a third class, which in its turn comes into question. Thus the whole of the first book is a

development of triplet questions with which the third book begins.

Finally, there is, in the way of mnemonic and intellectual aid, the simplifying and unifying effect attained by causing all the questions (exclusive of sub-inquiries) to refer to one category of dhammā. There is, it is true, a whole book of questions referring to rūpaṁ, but this constitutes a very much elaborated sub-inquiry on material "form" as one sub-species of a species of dhammā-rūpino-dhammā, as distinguished from all the rest, which are arūpinodhammā.

Thus the whole Manual is shown to be a compendium or more literally, a co-enumeration of dhammā.

Vibhaṅga.—The Vibhaṅga or the Dharmaskandha of the Sarvāstivāda school is the second book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Mrs. Rhys Davids has edited this volume for the P.T.S., London. There are Sinhalese, Siamese, and Burmese editions of this text.

The Vibhaṅga (exposition) generally deals with the different categories and formulæ treated of in the Dhammasaṅgaṇi. It has many of the repetitions of the chapters of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, but the method followed in the Vibhaṅga and the matter contained in it are found to be almost different from those of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi. It contains some terms and definitions not found in the Dhammasaṅgaṇi. The book is divided into eighteen chapters called Vibhaṅga. Each of these chapters has three portions, viz.: (1) Suttantabhājaniya, (2) Abhidhammabhājaniya, and (3) Paññāpucchaka or catechism. The Vibhaṅga opens with Khandhavibhaṅga or the chapter on aggregates. In the Suttantabhājaniya portion, each of the ingredients, rūpa, vedanā, saññā, and saṅkhāra, is treated of and has been examined with reference to its time, space, and matter. In the Abhidhammabhājaniya portion, each of the five ingredients has been separately dealt with. There are four ways in

which rūpa arises; there is no hetu or primal cause for the rūpa. Likewise there are ten ways for the rise of vedanā or sensation. Vedanā can also be classified into various groups according as kusala (good), akusala (bad), avyākata (neither good nor bad), and object ideation (ārammaṇa) are taken into consideration. There are various methods by which saññā can be classified and so are the cases with saṅkhāra and viññāna. In the chapter on Paññāpucchaka the five khandhas have been variously classified. In this chapter all the khandhas are taken into consideration with respect to sukha, vedanā, etc. Rūpakhandha is not an object ideation. The three khandhas are cetasika. Rūpa is outside the citta group while vedanā cannot be said to be so. In this way all the khandhas have been differently treated. In the Suttantabhājaniya portion various āyatanas (abodes) are taken into consideration. Each of them is impermanent, non-existing, and unchanging. In the Abhidhammabhājaniya portion, each of the two groups of āyatanas is separately dealt with. The manoviññāna āyatana can be traced by touch. Rūpāyatana is that which is based on four great elements. In this way all the āyatanas are considered with reference to their time, space, and causation. In the Dhātuvibhaṅga portion it is stated that there are six dhātus, viz.: paṭhavī, āpa, teja, vāyu, ākāsa, and viññāna.

Paṭhavī dhātu is of two kinds, (1) internal and (2) external. Portions of body are internal and anything outside one's own self is external. Besides these, there are six other dhātus. A further list of six dhātus is added. So we find that there are eighteen dhātus. In the Abhidhamma portion also we find the same number of dhātus. In the Paññāpucchaka portion it is stated that some of the eighteen dhātus are kusala, some akusala, while others avyākata. The dhātus are then variously classified according as they are citta or cetasika, sinful or not, caused or uncaused, determinable or

indeterminate. We like to mention here in brief some more vibhaṅgas. In the chapter on the Saccavibhaṅga, the four ariyasaccas, e.g., dukkhaṁ, dukkhasamudayaṁ, dukkhanirodhaṁ, dukkhanirodhagāmini-paṭipadā (i.e., suffering, origin of suffering, cessation of suffering, and the path leading to the cessation of suffering) are dealt with. In the Indriyavibhaṅga twenty-two indriyas have been treated. The twenty-two indriyas are :—1. cakkhu (eye), 2. sota (ear), 3. ghāna (nose), 4. jihvā (tongue), 5. kāya (sense of touch), 6. mana (mind), 7. itthi (feminity), 8. purisa (masculinity), 9. jīvita (vitality), 10. sukha (joy), 11. dukkha (suffering), 12. somanassa (delight), 13. domanassa (grief), 14. upekkhā (indifference), 15. saddhā (faith), 16. viriya (energy), 17. sati (recollection), 18. samādhi (concentration or contemplation), 19. paññā (wisdom), 20. anaññataññassamitindriyaṁ (the sense which says, " I will know what is not known "), 21. aññindriyaṁ (sense of knowledge), and 22. aññātavindriyaṁ (sense of having thoroughly known). In the Paccayākāravibhaṅga various paccayas are enumerated and explained after which the suttanta portion naturally closes. In the Satipaṭṭhānavibhaṅga the suttanta portion deals with the four satipaṭṭhānas, each of which is separately explained and at the end of each there is an annotation of difficult words. In the Sammapadhānavibhaṅga the four essentials have been dealt with at length after which a word-for-word commentary follows. In the Bojjhaṅgavibhaṅga the seven bojjhaṅgas or supreme knowledge, e.g., sati (recollection), dhammavicaya (investigation), viriya (energy), pīti (joy), passadhi (calm), samādhi (contemplation), and upekkhā (equanimity) are mentioned and the same plan has been followed as in the previous sections. In the Maggavibhaṅga the Noble Eightfold Path, e.g., sammādiṭṭhi (right view), sammāsaṁkappa (right thought), sammāvācā (right speech), sammākammanta (right action), sammāājīva (right living), sammāvāyāma (right exertion), sammā-

sati (right recollection), and sammāsamādhi (right meditation), has been discussed in the same method as noticed before. In the Jhānavibhaṅga various jhānas have been enumerated and explained. Then we have sections on sikkhāpadas or precepts which have been taken into consideration beginning with pāṇātipāta, etc. The Paṭisambhidāvibhaṅga, Jñānavibhaṅga, Khuddakavatthuvibhaṅga, and Dhammahadayavibhaṅga are discussed one after the other and these form the closing sections of the Vibhaṅga.

To sum up: the object is to formulate the theories and practical mechanism of intellectual and moral progress scattered throughout the Sutta Piṭaka and not to extend knowledge.

The Kathāvatthu.—The Kathāvatthu[1] or the Vijñāṇapada is the third book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. It is a Buddhist book of debate on matters of theology and philosophy. It is younger than the Dhammasaṅgaṇi. A close investigation will make it evident that this book of controversy is looked upon in one way as no more than a book of interpretation. A few specimens of controversy which the Kathāvatthu has embodied show that both sides referred to the Buddha as the final court of appeal. This work has been edited by Mr. A. C. Taylor for the P.T.S. in two volumes and translated into English by Mr. S. Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids under the title of "Points of Controversy". Mrs. Rhys Davids has ably written a chapter on some psychological points in the Kathāvatthu in her work on Buddhist Psychology, Second Ed. (1924), which deserves mention. The editor has made use of the following manuscripts in editing the text:—

1. Paper manuscript from the collection of Mrs. Rhys Davids,

[1] An interesting paper by T. W. Rhys Davids, "Question discussed in the Kathāvatthu", J.R.A.S., 1892, deserves mention. Read *Buddhist Notes*, The Five Points of Makhādeva, and the Kathāvatthu, J.R.A.S., 1910.

2. Palm-leaf manuscript belonging to Prof. Rhys Davids,
3. Palm-leaf manuscript belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, and
4. Mandalay palm-leaf manuscript from the India Office collection.

A Siamese edition of this work has been used by the editor. This book consists of 23 chapters.

The first chapter deals with Puggala or personal entity,[1] falling away of an arahant,[2] higher life among the devas,[3] the putting away of corruptions or vices by one portion at a time,[4] the casting off sensuous passions (kāmarāga) and ill-will (byāpāda) by a worldling (puthujjano),[5] everything as persistently existing, some of the past and future as still existing, applications in mindfulness (satipaṭṭhāna), and existence in immutable modes (atītaṁ atthīti)—

"H'ev'atthi h'eva
n'atthīti. S'eva'atthi s'eva n'atthīti ?
—Na h'evaṁ vattabbe-pe-s'ev'atthi
s'eva n'atthīti ?—Āmantā."

(For English translation *vide* Points of Controversy, pp. 108 foll.)

[1] I like to draw the reader's attention to an interesting paper by Mrs. Rhys Davids published in the Prabuddha Bhārata, May, 1931, entitled, "How does man survive ?" According to the Buddhists the individual has no real existence. It is only a Sammuti. Buddhaghosa accepts this view. He says that on the existence of Khandhas, such as rūpa, etc., there is the usage 'evaṁnāma', 'evaṁgotta'. Because of this usage, common consent, and name, there is the Puggala-Kathāvatthupakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā, pp. 33–35.

[2] "Falling away" is, more literally, declined, the opposite of growth (*vide* Points of Controversy by Shwe Zan Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids, p. 64 f.n.).

[3] The higher life is of twofold import: path-culture and renunciation of the world. No deva practises the latter (*vide* Points of Controversy, p. 71).

[4] This comes under the head of Purification piecemeal in the Kathāvatthu "Odhisodhiso kilese jahatīti ?"—Kathāvatthu, Vol. I, p. 103.

[5] It means an average man of the world.

The second chapter deals with the arahant or the elect, the knowledge of the arahant, the arahant being excelled by others, doubt in the arahant, specified progress in penetration, Buddha's everyday usage [1] (vohāra), duration of consciousness, two cessations (dve nirodhā), etc.

The third chapter deals with the powers or potentialities of the Tathāgata (Tathāgatabalaṁ).[2] It further deals with emancipation,[3] controlling powers of the eighth man (aṭṭhamaka puggala),[4] divine eye,[5] divine ear (dibbasota),[6] insight into destiny according to deeds,[7] moral restraint (samvaro), unconscious life,[8] etc.

The fourth chapter deals with the following subjects, e.g., attainment of arahatship by a layman (gīhi or householder),[9] common humanity of an

[1] According to the Andhakas, his daily usages were supramundane usages (Points of Controversy, p. 134).

[2] Of a Tathāgata's "ten powers" some he holds wholly in common with his disciples, some not, and some are partly common to both (Points of Controversy, p. 139).

[3] "Sarāgaṁ cittaṁ vimuccati"—That "becoming emancipated" has reference to the mind full of passion.

[4] The eighth man has no saddhā (faith), viriya (energy), sati (recollection), samādhi (meditation), and paññā (wisdom). *Vide* Kathāvatthu, Vol. I, p. 247.

[5] Fleshy eye (maṁsacakkhu), when it is the medium of an idea (dhammapatthaddhaṁ) becomes the celestial eye (dibbacakkhu) —Kathāvatthu, Vol. I, p. 251. *Vide* also Points of Controversy, p. 149. This is a view of the Andhakas and Sammitiyas, says Mrs. Rhys Davids on the authority of the Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā.

[6] Cf. Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. II, 19—Dibbāya sotadhātuyā.

[7] Yathākammupagataṁ ñāṇaṁ dibbacakkhunti ?—the celestial eye amounts to insight into destiny according to deeds (Kathāvatthu, Vol. I, p. 256 and Points of Controversy, p. 151). Cf. Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 82: "So dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkantamānusakena satte passati cavamāne upapajjamāne, hīne paṇīte suvaṇṇe dubbaṇṇe sugate duggate yathā kammūpage satte pajānāti."

[8] Asaññasattesu saññā atthīti ? Is there any consciousness among the unconscious beings ?—Kathāvatthu, Vol. I, p. 260. The Andhakas concede consciousness to those devas of the unconscious sphere at the moment of rebirth and of decease (Points of Controversy, p. 153).

[9] Cf. Yasa, Uttiya, Setu who attained arahatship in all the circumstances of life in the laity—Points of Controversy, p. 158.

arahant, retention of distinctive endowments,[1] arahant's indifference in sense-cognition,[2] entering on the path of assurance,[3] putting off the fetter,[4] etc.

The fifth chapter deals with knowledge of emancipation (vimuttiñāṇaṁ), knowledge of a learner (sekha), perverted perception (viparīte ñāṇaṁ), assurance (niyāma), analytical knowledge (paṭisambhidā), popular knowledge (sammutiñāṇaṁ), mental object in telepathy (cetopariyāyeñāṇaṁ), knowledge of the present (paccuppanna ñāṇaṁ), knowledge of the future (anāgata ñāṇaṁ), and knowledge in the fruition of a disciple (sāvakassa phaleñāṇaṁ).

The sixth chapter begins with the controverted point that the assurance (of salvation or niyāma) is unconditioned or uncreated, so also is Nibbāṇa. Then it treats of causal genesis (paṭiccasamuppāda or dependent origination), four truths (cattāri saccāni), four immaterial spheres of life and thought,[5] of the attaining to cessation (nirodhasamāpatti), of space (ākāsa) as unconditioned (asaṁkata) and

[1] Under this section arise the following questions: arahā catūhi phalehi samannāgato ti? Is an arahat endowed with four fruitions? Is an arahat endowed with four kinds of contact (phassa), four kinds of sensation (vedanā), four kinds of consciousness (saññā), four kinds of cetanā (volition), four kinds of thought (citta), four kinds of faith (saddhā), four kinds of energy (viriya), four kinds of recollection (sati), four kinds of meditation (samādhi), and four kinds of knowledge or wisdom (paññā)? (Kathāvatthu, Vol. I, p. 274.) The answers to these questions are in the affirmative. All personal endowments, according to the Theravādins, are only held as distinct acquisitions, until they are cancelled by other acquisitions—Points of Controversy, p. 161.

[2] An arahat is endowed with sixfold indifference (upekkhā).

[3] During the dispensation (pavacana doctrine, teaching) of Kassapa Buddha the Bodhisatta has entered on the path of assurance and conformed to the life therein. Points of Controversy, p. 167; cf. Majjhima Nikāya, II, pp. 46 foll.

[4] Sabbasaññojanānaṁ pahānaṁ arahattamti? This is the question raised in this section. The answer is that arahatship is the removal of all obstacles. Mrs. Rhys Davids points out on the authority of the commentary that this is an opinion of the Andhakas.

[5] Ākāsānañcāyatanaṁ asaṁkataṁ—the sphere of infinite space is unconditioned or uncreated.

visible, and of each of the four elements, the five senses, and action as visibles.

The seventh chapter treats of the classification of things[1] (saṁgahītakathā), of mental states as mutually connected (sampayutta), of mental properties (cetasikas), of the controverted points that dāna is (not the gift but) the mental state (cetasika dhamma), that merit increases with utility (paribhogamayaṁpuññaṁ vaḍḍhati), that earth is a result of action (paṭhavīkammavipāka), that decay and death (jarāmaraṇa) are consequences of action, that Ariyan states of mind (ariyadhamma) have no positive result (vipāka), that result is itself a state entailing resultant states[2] (vipākadhammadhammo).

The eighth chapter deals with the six spheres of the destiny (chagatiyo). According to the Buddha there are five destinies, such as purgatory (niraya), the animal kingdom (tiracchānayoni), the peta-realm (pettivisaya), mankind (manussā), and the devas (devā). To these five the Andhakas and the Uttarāpathakas add another, namely, the Asuras. Then it treats of the following controverted points :— that there is an intermediate state of existence (antarābhava), that the kāma-sphere means only the fivefold pleasures of sense (Pañc'eva kāmaguṇā kāmadhātu), that the ultimate 'element of rūpa' is the thing cognised as material, that the ultimate element of arūpa is the thing cognised as immaterial, that in the rūpa-sphere the individual has all the six senses (saḷāyatana), that there is matter among the immaterials, that physical actions proceeding

[1] The things cannot be grouped together by means of abstract ideas (N'atthi keci dhammā kehici dhammehi saṅgahītā). We learn from the commentary that it is a belief held by the Rājagirikas and the Siddhatthikas that the orthodox classification of particular material qualities under one generic concept of matter, etc., is worthless for this reason that things cannot be grouped together by means of ideas. The argument seeks to point out a different meaning in the notion of grouping (Points of Controversy, p. 195).

[2] See 'Points of Controversy' (P.T.S.) by S. Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids. *Vide* also Buddhist Psychological Ethics by Mrs. Rhys Davids, p. 253, f.n. 1.

from good or bad thoughts amount to a moral act of karma, that there is no such thing as a material vital power[1] (n'atthi rūpajivītindriyanto), and that because of karma an arahant may fall away from arahantship (kammahetu arahā arahattā parihāyati).

The ninth chapter deals with the way whereby the fetters are put off for one who discerns a blessing (in store) (ānisaṃsadassāvissa saññojanānaṁ pahānaṁ). Then it discusses that the " Ambrosial " (amataṁ) is an object of thought not yet freed from bondage, whether matter should be subjective or objective, that latent (immoral) bias and insight are without mental object. Then it records a discussion between the Uttarāpathakas and the Theravādins as to whether consciousness of a past object or of future ideas is without object. The former holds that when mind recalls a past object, it is without object. Their views are proved to be self-contradictory by the Theravādins.

The tenth chapter deals with the five ' operative ' (kiriyā) aggregates (khandhas) which arise before five aggregates seeking rebirth have ceased. It treats of the eightfold path and bodily form and discusses the points that the eightfold path can be developed while enjoying the five kinds of sense-consciousness (pañca viññāna) which are ' co-ideational(sābhogā), good (kusalā), and bad (akusalā), that one engaged in the path practises a double morality (dvīhisīlehi), that virtue, which is not a property of consciousness, rolls along after thought, that acts of intimation (viññatti) are moral (sīlam) and those of non-intimation (aviññatti) are immoral (dussīlyaṁ).

The eleventh chapter begins with the disputed point that the latent bias (anusaya) is ' indeterminate ' (avyākata). It discusses that insight is not united with consciousness, and that insight into the nature of ill is put into operation from the

[1] Cf. Vibhaṅga, 123—vital power is twofold—material and immaterial.

utterance of the word, "This is ill". It treats of the force of the iddhi (magic gift, miracle), concentration (samādhi), the causality of things (dhammaṭṭhitatā parinipphannā), and impermanence (aniccatā).

The twelfth chapter deals with acts of restraint (saṁvaro kamma). It discusses that all actions have moral results and that sense-organs are the results of karma. It further treats of seven rebirths, limit, murder, evil tendencies which are eliminated in the case of a person who has reached the seventh rebirth.

The thirteenth chapter deals with a doomed man's morality, captivity, and release, lust for the unpleasant, etc.

The fourteenth chapter discusses that the roots of good and bad thoughts follow consecutively and conversely. It treats of the development of sense-organs of a being in human embryo. It deals with the questions relating to the immediate contiguity in sense, outward life of an ariya, unconscious outbursts of corruption, desire as innate in heavenly things, the unmoral and the unrevealed and the unincluded.

The fifteenth chapter treats of correlation as specifically fixed, reciprocal correlation, time, four āsavas (sins), decay and death of spiritual things, trance as a means of reaching the unconscious sphere, and of karma and its accumulation (karma is one thing and its accumulation is another).

The sixteenth chapter deals with controlling and assisting another's mind, making another happy, and attending to everything at the same time. It discusses that material qualities are accompanied by conditions good or moral, bad or immoral; they are results of karma. This chapter further treats of matter as belonging to the material and immaterial heavens, of desire for life in the higher heavens.

The seventeenth chapter records that an arahat accumulates merit and cannot have a premature death, that everything is due to karma, that dukkha

is completely bound up with sentient organisms, that all other conditioned things excepting the Ariyan Path only are held to be ill (dukkha). It treats of the Order, the accepting of gifts, daily life, the fruit of giving (a thing given to the Order brings great reward), and sanctification of the gift (a gift is sanctified by the giver only and not by the recipient).

The eighteenth chapter deals with the Buddha's living in the world of mankind, the manner in which the Dhamma was taught, the Buddha feeling no pity, one and only path, transition from one jhāna (rapt musing or abstraction) to another, seeing visible objects with the eye, etc.

The nineteenth chapter treats of getting rid of corruption, the void which is included in the aggregate of mental co-efficients (saṁkhāra-khandha), the fruits of recluseship, patti (attainment) which is unconditioned, fundamental characteristics of all things which are unconditioned, Nibbāṇa as morally good, final assurance, and the moral controlling powers (indriyakathā).

The twentieth chapter treats of the five cardinal crimes, insight which is not for the average man, guards of purgatories,[1] rebirths of animals in heaven, the Aryan Path which is fivefold, and the spiritual character of insight into the twelvefold base.

The twenty-first chapter discusses that the religion is subject to reformation. It treats of certain fetters, supernormal potency (iddhi), Buddhas, all-pervading power of the Buddha, natural immutability of all things, and inflexibility of all karmas.

The twenty-second chapter treats of the completion of life, moral consciousness, imperturbable (Fourth Jhāna) consciousness, attainment of Arahatship by the embryo, penetration of truth by a

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[1] Some hold that there are no such beings but that the hell-doomed karmas in the shape of hell-keepers purge the sufferers. Points of Controversy, p. 345.

dreamer, attainment of Arahatship by a dreamer, the unmoral, correlation by repetition, and momentary duration.

The twenty-third chapter deals with the topic of a Bodhisatta who (*a*) goes to hell (vinipātaṁ gacchati), (*b*) enters a womb (gabbhaseyyaṁ okkamati), (*c*) performs hard tasks (dukkara-kārikaṁ akāsi), (*d*) works penance under alien teachers of his own accord and free will (aparantapaṁ akāsi, aññaṁ satthāraṁ uddisi). This chapter further deals with the controverted point that the aggregates, elements, controlling powers—all save ill is undetermined (aparinipphanna).

Kathāvatthu, a work of Aśoka's time.

The Kathāvatthu is undoubtedly a work of the Aśokan age. The generally accepted view is that the Kathāvatthu was composed by Moggaliputta Tissa Thera, President of the Third Buddhist Council which was held at Pāṭaliputta (modern Patna) under the patronage of King Aśoka.[1] The Mahāvaṁsa gives a clear account of the council. It is evident from it that at the time of Aśoka there existed different schools of Buddhism. It was apprehended that Theravadism might be supplanted by other Buddhist sects which seceded from it. Even in the Buddhist Church at Pāṭaliputta, which is doubtless an orthodox church, Theravāda practices were going out of use. Aśoka who was certainly a follower of Theravadism (otherwise we do not find any reason why he should stand for the Theravādins—a losing side), with a view to bring order in place of disorder, and in order that the true doctrine (Theravadism) might long endure, was eager to convene a council which, as we have said before, was held under the presidency of Moggaliputta Tissa Thera, the leader of the orthodox Buddhist Church. It was decided that the Buddha was a Theravādin or a Vibhajjavādin and the doctrine preached by him was synonymous

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[1] Mahāvaṁsa (Geiger), Chap. V, 55.

with Buddhism. Moggaliputta then composed the Kathāvatthu in which he refuted the heretical views —views which were against Theravadism. It will not be out of place to mention here that other Buddhist sects did not take part in the proceedings of the council. Accordingly this council was regarded as a party meeting of the Theravādins.

The internal evidences of the Pāli books themselves point to the fact that the Kathāvatthu is a compilation of the Aśokan age. Let us see whether external evidences also lead us to the same conclusion. For this we are to turn to the lithic records of Aśoka. It has now been definitely settled that Aśoka was a Buddhist. This king, in his Bhābrū Edict, recommends to the sisters and brethren of the Order, and to the lay disciples of either sex, frequently to hear, and to meditate upon, certain selected passages, namely, Aliya-vasāni, Anāgata-bhayāni, Munigāthā, Moneya-sūte, Upatisapasine, and Lāghulovāde.[1] All these passages have now been identified with those in the Pāli canonical works. It is true that Aśoka does not mention the Kathāvatthu by name in the lithic records. But if we carefully read his inscriptions we shall find the influence of the Kathāvatthu in the Rock Edict IX.

In the Rock Edict IX, the inscription runs as follows :— —

> Siyā va-taṁ aṭhaṁ nivaṭeyā (,) siyāpunā no hidalokike cha vase (.) Iyaṁ-punā dhamma-magale akālikye (.) Haṁche pi tam-atham no niṭe-ti hida aṭham palata anaṁtaṁ (punā) pavasati (.) Haṁche punā taṁ-aṭhaṁ nivate-ti hida tato ubhaye ladhe hoti hida chā se-aṭhe palatā chā anaṁtaṁ puṁnaṁ pavasati tenā dhammamagalenā (.)

[1] *Vide* Dr. B. M. Barua's interesting paper on the Bhabra Edict, J.R.A.S., 1915, 805 ff. and Dr. Max Walleser's thoughtful paper on this edict, Das Edikt Von Bhabra (Materialism Zur Kunde des Buddhismus, Leipzig, 1923).

The style of composition and the subject of discussion which we notice here, resemble those of the Kathāvatthu and the Sāmaññaphala Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya (Vol. I) respectively.

Historical connection between the Kathāvatthu and the Milinda Pañha.

Both the Kathāvatthu and the Milinda Pañha are very interesting books of controversial apologetics. The differences between them are just as one might expect (*a*) from the difference of date, and (*b*) from the fact that the controversy in the older book is carried on against a member of the same community, whereas in the Milinda we have a defence of Buddhism as against the outsider. The Kathāvatthu is regarded as a work of Aśoka's time (3rd cent. B.C.). There were different Buddhist sects in the time of Aśoka. There was every chance that Theravadism might disappear. So the council was held under the patronage of Aśoka and under the presidency of Moggaliputta Tissa Thera. After the council was over, Moggaliputta composed the Kathāvatthu in which he refuted the views of other Buddhist sects. The Milinda has been placed between 100 and 200 of the Christian era. Mr. Trenckner says that our text can scarcely be older than the first century A.D., but it may be younger. There is, however, a limit which cannot be passed. It is older than the beginning of the fifth century A.D. for it is quoted by Buddhaghosa. The book consists of the discussion of a number of points of Buddhist doctrine treated of in the form of conversations between King Milinda and Nāgasena the Elder. These are not real conversations. The questions raised, or dilemmas stated, which are put into the mouth of the king, are really invented for the solutions which are put into the mouth of Nāgasena. It is likely that the questions which have been discussed in the Milinda agitated the Buddhist community as like questions did in the time of Aśoka.

There are a number of points raised in Tissa's

discussions, which are also discussed by the author of the Milinda. In every instance the two authors agree in their views, Nāgasena in the Milinda is always advocating the opinion which Tissa puts forward as that of the Theravādins. This is especially the case with those points which Moggaliputta thinks of so much importance that he discusses them at much greater length than the other.

His first chapter, for instance, by far the longest in his book, is on the question whether, in the truest sense of the word, there can be said to be a soul. It is precisely this question which forms also the subject of the very first discussion between Milinda and Nāgasena. The thera convinces the king of the truth of the orthodox Buddhist view that there is really no such thing as a soul in the ordinary sense.

The discussion in the Milinda as to the manner in which the Divine Eye (dibba cakkhu) can arise in a man, is a reminiscence of the question raised in the Kathāvatthu as to whether the eye of flesh can, through strength of dhamma, grow into the Divine Eye.

The discussion in the Milinda as to how a layman, who is a layman after becoming an arahat, can enter the Order, is entirely in accord with the opinion maintained, as against the Uttarāpathakas in the Kathāvatthu.

The discussion in the Milinda as to whether an arahat can be thoughtless or guilty of an offence is foreshadowed by the similar points raised in the Kathāvatthu.

The two dilemmas in the Milinda, especially as to the cause of space, may be compared with the discussion in the Kathāvatthu, as to whether space is self-existent.

The Kathāvatthu takes almost the whole of the conclusions reached in the Milinda for granted and goes on to discuss further questions on points of detail. It does not give a description of arahatship in glowing terms, but discusses minor points as to

whether the realisation of arahatship includes the fruits of the three lower paths, or whether all the qualities of an arahat are free from the āsavas or sins, or whether the knowledge of his emancipation alone makes a man an arahat, or whether the breaking of the fetters constitutes arahatship, or whether the insight into the arahatship suffices to break all the fetters, and so on.

Puggalapaññatti.—The Puggalapaññatti or the Prajnapti-pada is the fourth book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Rev. Richard Morris, M.A., LL.D., has edited this work for the P.T.S., London. This book has been translated into English for the P.T.S., London, by Dr. B. C. Law known as the Designation of Human Types and into German by Ñyānatiloka, under the name of *Das Buch der charaktere*, published in Breslau in 1911. The Puggalapaññatti throws some light on several obscure Buddhist terms and phrases. Nothing is known definitely as to the date of this work. It can be said with certainty that it was written after the nikāyas. The following are the topics discussed in this book :—

(1) six designations,
(2) grouping of human types by one,
(3) grouping of human types by two,
(4) grouping of human types by three,
(5) grouping of human types by four,
(6) grouping of human types by five,
(7) grouping of human types by six,
(8) grouping of human types by seven,
(9) grouping of human types by eight,
(10) grouping of human types by nine,
(11) grouping of human types by ten.

'Puggala' means an individual or a person as opposed to a group or multitude or class. It also means a person ; in later Abhidhamma literature it is equal to character or soul (*vide* P.T.S. Dictionary, Puggala).

According to the Buddhists an individual has

no real existence. The term "Puggala" does not mean anything real. It is only sammutisacca (apparent truth) as opposed to paramatthasacca (real truth). A Puggalavādin's view is that the person is known in the sense of a real and ultimate fact, but he is not known in the same way as other real and ultimate facts are known (Points of Controversy, pp. 8-9). He or she is known in the sense of a real and ultimate fact, and his or her material quality is also known in the sense of a real and ultimate fact. But it cannot truly be said that the material quality is one thing and the person another (Points of Controversy, pp. 14-15), nor can it be truly predicated that the person is related or absolute, conditioned or unconditioned, eternal or temporal, or whether the person has external features or whether he is without any (Points of Controversy, p. 21). One who has material quality in the sphere of matter is a person, but it cannot be said that one who experiences desires of sense in the sphere of sense-desire is a person (*Ibid.*, p. 23). The genesis of the person is apparent, his passing away and duration are also distinctively apparent, but it cannot be said that the person is conditioned (*Ibid.*, p. 55).

Paññatti means 'notion, designation, etc.' It means what the mind both conceives and renders articulate (Expositor, Vol. II, p. 499, n. 3). It is stated in the Compendium of Philosophy that it is twofold according as it is known (Paññapiyatīti) or as it makes things known (paññāpetīti). According to the Puggalapaññatti commentary, paññatti means 'explanation', 'preaching', 'pointing out', 'establishing', 'showing', and 'exposition'. There are, it says, six paññattis. These amount to so many (*a*) designations, (*b*) indications, (*c*) expositions, (*d*) affirmations, and (*e*) depositions (paññāpanā, desanā, pakāsanā, ṭhapanā, and nikkhipanā). All these are the meanings of paññatti. According to the commentarial tradition, Puggalapaññatti means 'pointing out', 'showing', 'expositions', 'establish-

ing', and deposition of persons or it may also mean 'notion' or 'designation' of types of persons. At the outset, the author classifies the paññatti or notion into group (khandha), locus (āyatana), element (dhātu), truth (sacca), faculty (indriya), and person (puggala). Of these six, the last one is the subject-matter of this work. Mr. S. Z. Aung in his Introductory Essay while discussing the word paññatti has shown that this word might be used for both name and notion (or term and concept) (Compendium of Philosophy, p. 264). It is interesting to note that the author of the Puggalapaññatti follows the method of the Aṅguttara Nikāya. Not only in the treatment of the subject-matter but also as regards materials, the compiler owes a good deal to the Saṅgīti of the Dīgha Nikāya and to the Aṅguttara Nikāya.

At the outset, a mātikā or a table of contents has been given which in a nutshell speaks of the different chapters that are to follow. The first chapter deals at length how and in what way the six paññattis (designations) are manifested. But in the treatment of puggala a long list of different types is given according as one is a sekha (learner), an arahat (one who is emancipated), paccekabuddha (individual Buddha), sammāsambuddha (Exalted Buddha), saddhānusārī (one who follows faith), dhammānusārī (one who follows dhamma), sotāpanna (one who has attained the first stage of sanctification), sakadāgāmi (one who has attained the second stage of sanctification), anāgāmi (one who has attained the third stage of sanctification), or an arahant (saint). In this way fifty different types are stated in it.

In the second chapter a class of persons has been considered to have acquired two qualities so that he may be known, e.g., as one who is both angry as well as an enemy or who is both idle and unscrupulous, slothful and sensuous, etc. There are in this way twenty-six different types.

The third chapter describes a type of beings

according to three qualities. It deals with those persons who defy the sīlas or moral conduct, who are not observers of celibacy as also all those who actually do so. It includes all those who are free from āsavas or sins and those who are speakers of truth, those who are so blind as not to see kusala and akusala states. It also includes persons who are not to be served, not to be worshipped, and not to be adored as well as those who ought to be done so. It includes persons who are teachers.

The fourth chapter includes persons who are good men and saints as well as those who are not so. There are four types of Dhammakathikas (preachers of dhamma). There are four kinds of persons who are like clouds, who though speak loudly but do not act accordingly, while others do not act accordingly and speak less. This chapter closes with an exhaustive treatment of persons who are lustful, self-seeking as well as those who devote their lives for others and with persons who are still evil-minded and having attachment.

The fifth chapter treats of the persons who act or do not act and are or are not remorseful, and who do not know when and how kusala and akusala dhammas disappear, etc. There are five types of persons: (1) those who hold in contempt all those whom they give, (2) those who hold in contempt all those with whom they live, (3) those who are in gaping mouth at the praise and blame of the people, (4) those who have low pursuits, and (5) those who are dull and stupid.

In the sixth chapter, six types of persons are described. There are three types of persons who even though they have not heard the doctrine before, obtain ominiscience and fruition thereof, put an end to suffering in this very existence and attain the perfection of discipleship and remove suffering in this existence and become non-returners by thoroughly understanding truths by their own efforts. There are also three types of persons corresponding to those above, who do not obtain

omniscience and the fruition thereof, put an end to suffering but do not obtain the perfection of discipleship, and do not remove suffering but become once-returners.

The seventh chapter deals with seven types of persons: those who are in touch with akusala dhamma suddenly float or sink as if in water or cross over to the other banks or pass over to both the banks of the sea of life. This metaphor refers to the life of a man.

In the eighth chapter we find that the eight types of people are those who are in the four stages: Sotāpatti, Sakadāgāmi, Anāgāmi, and Arahats, as well as the four of those who are in the stage of fruition.

The ninth chapter deals with nine types of people, e.g., those who are all wise, those who are yet to be Buddhas, those who are free both ways, whose wisdom is free, whose body is pure, who have attained purity in thought, freedom in faith, follow the dhammas and become faithful.

In the tenth or the last chapter we find that there are five persons who are accomplished, who though they live in this world yet by strenuous effort attain to the highest stage of perfection. There are further five classes included in the ten classifications of persons, e.g., such persons as have got too early parinibbāṇa before the prime of life in a brāhmaṇa world, and those who have risen to a stage of Anāgāmi as well as those who never return.

Dhātukathā.—The Dhātukathā or the Dhātukāya-pada of the Sarvāstivāda school is the fifth book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. It means 'talk on elements' as Mrs. Rhys Davids puts it in her book 'A Manual of Buddhism', p. 28. E. R. Gooneratne has edited this work for the P.T.S., London. It can hardly be regarded as an independent treatise, its purpose being to serve as a supplement to the Dhammasaṅgaṇi. It fully discusses the mental characteristics most likely to be found in conjunction with converted and earnest folk. It treats of the

five khandhas (aggregates): rūpa, vedanā, saññā, saṁkhāra, and viññāna; twelve āyatanas (abodes): cakkhu, sota, ghāna, jihvā, kāya, rūpa, sadda, gandha, rasa, phoṭṭhabba, mana, and dhamma; eighteen dhātus (elements): cakkhu, sota, ghāna, jihvā, kāya, rūpa, sadda, gandha, rasa, phoṭṭhabba, cakkhuviññāna, sotaviññāna, ghānaviññāna, jihvā-viññāna, kāyaviññāna, mano, manoviññāna, and dhamma, four satipaṭṭhānas (recollections), mindfulness as regards body (kāya), thought (citta), feeling (vedanā), and mind-states (dhammā); four truths (sacca): dukkha (suffering), samudaya (origin of suffering), magga (the way leading to the destruction of suffering), nirodha (the destruction of suffering); four jhānas (stages of meditation—paṭhama, dutiya, tatiya, catuttha); five balas (potentialities): saddhā (faith), viriya (energy), sati (mindfulness), samādhi (concentration), and paññā (insight); seven bojjhaṅgas (elements of knowledge): sati (recollection), dhammavicaya (investigation of the Norm), viriya (energy), pīti (satisfaction), passaddhi (equanimity), samādhi (rapt concentration), upekkhā (indifference); the Noble Eightfold Path: sammādiṭṭhi (right view), sammāsaṁkappo (right aim), sammāvācā (right speech), sammākammanto (right action), sammā-ājīvo (right living), sammāvāyāmo (right exertion), sammāsati (right mindfulness), and sammāsamādhi (right concentration). It also treats of the senses of suffering, delight, faith, energy, recollection, concentration, attachment, sins, consciousness, excellent dhamma (law), kusalā dhammā (merits), akusalā dhammā (demerits), rūpāvacara and arūpāvacara dhammas, etc.

Yamaka.—The Yamaka ("The Pairs-book") or the Prakaraṇapada of the Sarvāstivāda school is the sixth book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. The P.T.S., London, under the able editorship of Mrs. Rhys Davids has published an edition of the work in two volumes. Mrs. Rhys Davids was assisted by Mary C. Foley and Mabel Hunt in editing the first volume;

while in editing the second volume she was helped by C. Dibben, Mary C. Foley, Mabel Hunt, and May Smith. Ledi Sadaw has written an excellent dissertation on the Yamaka published by the P.T.S., London, in 1913. Matters of psychological, ethical, and eschatological interest are noticeable throughout the work. Mūla Yamaka deals with kusaladhammā and akusaladhammā and their roots. Khandha Yamaka deals with five khandhas (aggregates), e.g., rūpa, vedanā, saññā, saṅkhāra, and viññāna. Āyatana Yamaka deals with the twelve āyatanas, e.g., cakkhu, sota, ghāna, jihvā, kāya, rūpa, etc. Dhātu Yamaka deals with the eighteen dhātus or elements. Sacca Yamaka treats of four noble truths. Saṁkhāra Yamaka deals with three saṁkhāras. Anusaya Yamaka treats of the anusayas (inclinations), e.g., kāmarāga (passion for sensual pleasures), paṭigha (hatred), diṭṭhi (false view), vicikicchā (doubt), māna (pride), bhavarāga (passion for existence), and avijjā (ignorance). Citta Yamaka deals with mind and mental states. Dhamma Yamaka deals with kusala and akusala dhammā. Indriya Yamaka deals with the twenty-two indriyas.

Paṭṭhāna.—The Paṭṭhāna[1] (Book of Causes) or the Jñāna-prasthāna of the Sarvāstivāda school is the seventh or the last book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Mrs. Rhys Davids has edited the volume for the P.T.S., London. The book consists of three divisions: eka, duka, and tīka. The twenty-four paccayas or modes of relations between things (dhammā) are so many paṭṭhānas. They are enumerated in the Paccayavibhaṅgavāra of the Ṭīkapaṭṭhāna, pt. I, as follows:—

1. Hetupaccaya (condition, causal relation),
2. Ārammaṇapaccaya (object presented in mind),
3. Adhipatipaccaya (dominance),

[1] Buddhaghosa offers three alternative meanings of the word Paṭṭhāna. Paṭṭhāna means paccaya or something analysed or an established procedure.

4. Anantarapaccaya (contiguity),
5. Samanantarapaccaya (immediate contiguity),
6. Sahajātapaccaya (co-nascence),
7. Aññamaññapaccaya (reciprocity),
8. Nissayapaccaya (dependence),
9. Upanissayapaccaya (suffering dependence),
10. Purejātapaccaya (antecedence),
11. Pacchājātapaccaya (consequence),
12. Āsevanapaccaya (habitual recurrence),
13. Kammapaccaya (action),
14. Vipākapaccaya (result),
15. Āhārapaccaya (support),
16. Indriyapaccaya (control, faculty),
17. Jhānapaccaya (meditation),
18. Maggapaccaya (path, means),
19. Sampayuttapaccaya (association),
20. Vippayuttapaccaya (dissociation),
21. Atthipaccaya (presence),
22. Natthipaccaya (absence),
23. Vigatapaccaya (abeyance), and
24. Avigatapaccaya (continuance).

The entire paṭṭhāna is devoted first to an enquiry into these twenty-four ways in which X is paccaya to Y, secondly into illustrating how in things material or mental each kind of paccaya and groups of paccayas originate. Some of the paccayas are hetu (cause), ārammaṇa (object presented to mind), adhipati (lord), and so on.

CHAPTER III

PĀLI COUNTERPARTS OF THE SEVEN ABHIDHAMMA TREATISES OF THE SARVĀSTIVĀDA SCHOOL

The Sarvāstivāda School of Buddhism recognises and holds as authoritative seven Abhidhamma treatises which have nothing in common with the seven texts of the Pāli Abhidhamma Piṭaka except as to their total number. All these seven treatises, called padas, are preserved in Chinese translations and are altogether lost in their original. The Indian originals of these treatises, so far as one can ascertain, were written in Sanskrit. In the Sarvāstivāda set of seven treatises, the highest place in importance is accorded to the Jñānaprasthāna shāstra of Kātyāyanīputra in the same way that in the Pāli set similar importance is attached to the seventh book called the Paṭṭhāna or Mahāpakaraṇa or the great treatise. For the parallels to the Sarvāstivāda treatises the Pāli Abhidhamma Piṭaka is not certainly the place to make the search. Strangely enough, the available Pāli counterparts of all these treatises are embodied in the Sutta Piṭaka and pass as suttanta texts. On a careful examination of the contents of these Pāli counterparts it appears, however, that they represent a step in advance from the general bulk of the suttas and as a matter of fact form a link of transition between the Pāli suttas and the Abhidhamma books.

The principal Abhidhamma treatise of the Sarvāstivāda school is, as noted above, Kātyāyanīputra's Jñānaprasthāna Śāstra to which there are six supplements called 'Padas'. The seven Abhidhamma works are as follows :—

(1) *Jñānaprasthāna by Āryakātyāyanīputra.*—The author is one of the famous Sarvāstivāda teachers and

lived in Kashmere three hundred years after the parinibbāṇa of the Buddha. The work was translated into Chinese in 383 A.D., by a Kashmirian monk named Gautama Saṁghadeva. The second word of the title Prasthāna corresponds to Paṭṭhāna in Pāli. Hence Kern was led to believe that the two works were probably related to each other. Dr. Barua has tried to convince us with some cogent reasons that although the arrangements of topics differ, the topics treated of in the Jñānaprasthāna Shāstra and the Pāli Paṭisambhidāmagga are almost the same. The final decision of this point is to be waited for till we have the complete English translation of the Chinese version of the Jñānaprasthāna Shāstra to enable us to make a thorough comparison between the contents of the two texts.

The whole work is divided into eight books. The first book deals with the Lokuttara-dhamma-vaggo, Ñāna-vaggo, Puggala-vaggo, Ahirikānottappa-vaggo, Rūpa-vaggo, Anattha-vaggo, Cetanā-vaggo, and a vaggo on love and reverence. In the Lokuttara-dhamma-vaggo the following questions are raised: what is the Lokuttara-dhamma?—to what category does it belong? Why is it the highest in the world? In this vaggo the relation of the Lokuttara-dhamma to twenty-two Sakkāya-diṭṭhis is also discussed. In the Ñāna-vaggo, the cause of knowledge, memory, doubt, six causes of stupidity by the Buddha, cessation of the causes, etc., are discussed at length. In the Puggala-vaggo the question at issue is how many of the twelve Paṭiccasamuppādas[1] belong to the past, present, and future Puggala. It also deals with the question of final liberation. The Ahirikānottappa-vaggo deals with ahirikā (shamelessness), anottappa (fearlessness of sinning), akusalamūla (the increasing demerits), etc. In the Rūpa-vaggo it is said that the rūpadhamma going through birth and death

[1] Mrs. Rhys Davids has ably discussed this subject in Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.

is impermanent. The Anattha-vaggo says that all the practices of austerity are in vain, for the things desired cannot be secured. The Cetanā-vaggo deals with thinking, reflecting, awakening (vitakka), observing (vicāra), unsettled mind (uddhacca), ignorance (avijjā), arrogance (māna), hardness of heart, etc. The vaggo on love and reverence deals with respect out of love (pema), respect out of honour (gārava), two sorts of honour (gārava), wealth (dhana), and religion (dhamma), strength of the body, nirvāṇa, the ultimate end, etc. The second book deals with the bond of human passions. It explains demerits (akusalamūla), 3 saṁyojanas (bonds or fetters), 5 views, 9 saṁyojanas, 98 anusayas with their details, scopes, and results; sakadāgāmin (those who come but once) and the germs of passions still left in the Sakadāgāmins. It also deals with moral defilements arising in men from views and from practices, 4 fruits of sāmañña, death and rebirth, and regions having no rebirth. It then explains causes of moral defilements, single cause and double cause; order of various thoughts and thought connected with indriyas; knowledge that can destroy the causes (prahāṇa-parijñā) and realisation of the destruction (nirodha-sākṣātkāra). The third book deals with sekha and asekha; five kinds of views, right and wrong; the knowledge of another's mind (paracittañāṇa); the cultivation of knowledge, and knowledge attained by the ariya-puggalas. The fourth book explains wicked actions, erroneous speech, injury to living beings (hiṁsā), demonstrable and undemonstrable, and actions bearing the selfsame results. The fifth book deals with pure organs (indriyas), conditions of the combination of elements, visible truth and internal products. The sixth book explains the twenty-two indriyas, all forms of becoming (bhava), sixteen kinds of touch, primal mind and mind that is primarily produced. It also explains whether the faculties of organs are conditioned by the past. The seventh book deals with all conditions of the past, medita-

tions on causes and conditions in the dhyāna heavens, ten forms of meditation (kasiṇāyatana), eight kinds of knowledge, three forms of samādhi, five states of anāgāmins, and states of the sakadāgāmins. The eighth book deals with (2) *Saṅgītī Paryāya by Mahā-Kauṣṭhila.* According to the Chinese authorities the work is attributed to Sāriputra himself, but Yasomitra, a Sarvāstivāda teacher, attributes it to Mahā-Kauṣṭhila who was a Sarvāstivāda teacher of great fame. The work was translated into Chinese by Hiuen Tsang in the middle of the 7th century A.D. By an analysis of the work Prof. Takakusu has established its correspondence with the Saṅgīti Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. The arrangements in both the works are similar. The order in the Pāli texts, however, is more cumbrous and thus it is evident that the Sarvāstivāda Abhidhamma text is anterior to the Pāli one. This work deals with eka-dharmas (all beings living on food, etc.), dvi-dharmas (mind and matter—nāma-rūpa), tri-dharmas (three akusala-mūlas ; three kusalamūlas ; three duścaritas—kāya, vāk, manas ; three dhātus ; three pudgalas ; three vedanās ; three vidyās, etc.), catur-dharmas (four āryasatyas ; four Śrāmaṇyaphalas ; four Smṛtyupa-sthānas, etc.), pañca-dharmas (five skandhas ; five sorts of attachments to nativity, home, love, luxury, religion ; five balas ; five indriyas ; five gatis ; five nīvaraṇas, etc.), sad-dharmas (six vijñānakāyas ; six vedanākāyas ; six dhātus ; six abhijñās ; six anuttara dharmas, etc.), sapta-dharmas (seven sambodhyaṅgas ; seven anuśayas ; seven dhanas ; seven adhikaraṇasamathadharmas, etc.), aṣṭa-dharmas (eight ārya-mārgas ; eight pudgalas ; eight vimuktis ; eight lokadharmas, etc.), nava-dharmas (nine abodes of beings—sattvāvasas), and dasa-dharmas (ten kṛtṣṇāyatanas ; ten aśaikṣa-dharmas).

(3) *Prakaraṇapāda by Sthavira Vasumitra.*—Vasumitra was one of the greatest teachers of the Sarvāstivāda school and was a contemporary of Kaṇishka. This work treats of the five dharmas (rūpa, citta, caittadharma, citta-viprayukta-saṁs-

dhātu; seven bodhyaṅgas; twenty-two indriyas, twelve āyatanas, five skandhas; and twelve pratītya-samutpādas.

(7) *Prajñapti-śāstra by Ārya Maudgalyāyana.*—There is nothing in common with the Pāli Puggalapaññatti but in name. It was translated into Chinese by Hiuen Tsang. In this work instruction about the world (loka-prajñapti) belonging to the Abhidharma-Mahāśāstra is given. This work treats of the seven ratnas of a Cakravarttī king; 32 signs of Buddha and Cakravarttī king; the Buddha's teaching of three moral defilements—rāga, dveṣa, and moha; tṛṣṇā (love), a great cause of life; causes of drowsiness, arrogance, wickedness, talkativeness, insufficiency in speech, inability in meditation; difference of mental faculties between the Buddha and his disciples; eight causes of rain; cause of a rainy season, etc. These contents go to show that this treatise has a close correspondence with the Pāli Lakkhaṇa Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. III.

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ERRATA

Page	Read	Instead of
6	*as*	*that*
23	*whatever be*	*whatever*
25	*causal*	*casual*
38	*is clearly*	*clearly*
44	*Internal*	*International*
58 f.n.	*deportment*	*department*
93	*mystery*	*mastery*
96 f.n.	*day*	*duty*
99	*outgrowth*	*outgrown*
102	*nor*	*or*
102	*a sun-story*	*sun-story*
105	*prologue*	*prologues*
110	*a corpse*	*corpse*
110	*this is*	*this*
113	*Grimblot*	*Grimbolt*
113	*1876*	*1879*
124	*chank-shave*	*chauk-shave*
125	*computer*	*Computor*
167	*Faith*	*Fate*
173	*without parents*	*with parents*
206 f.n.	*liberated*	*literated*
235	*Ajitamāṇavapucchā*	*Aitamāṇavapucchā*
281	*pabbajito*	*pabbjito*
325	*pasavati*	*pavasati*